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TOPICS - OF - THE - DAY

REPUBLICAN FORECAST OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Presidential Candidates, Issues, and the Probable Action of the Progressives as Seen by 751 Republican Editors, Senators, and Representatives.

THE WAR IN EUROPE has affected American business and sentiment in many ways since August, 1914, yet it touches no more intimate feature of our national life than the Presidential campaign of the coming year. The "sins" of the Democratic Administration are many and various, say Republican critics, ranging all the way from the Underwood tariff and the Mexican "muddle" down to congenital Democratic "incompetency." But the war redeemed the country from hard times by making the United States the chief market of the world for the purchase of war-munitions and supplies, and this prosperity and our success in keeping out of the Mexican and European troubles lead some Republicans to aver that Mr. Wilson has made such a success as a war-President that the important problem to be recognized in 1916 is how to beat Wilson rather than how to beat the Democratic party. "If the war is still on," says the Indianapolis *Star* (Ind. Rep.), "the issue will be the President's war-policy, and he will be re-elected easily. If the war is over, the issue will be our domestic policies, and any Republican can be elected."

Yet, altho one Illinois editor claims that the Republicans could elect a "yellow dog" next year because of Democratic hard times, nevertheless he and not a few of his colleagues state that it behooves the party to pick a man who is of unmistakable Presidential proportions on the

stump and will not shrink in size before the grave problems the approaching years shall lay at the door of the White House.

The supreme issue of the campaign, according to the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, will be the tariff, which, despite many other issues, is "alone sufficient unto victory." The tariff is hailed as the dominant feature of the Republican platform, in fact, by 451

Republican editors out of 685 in response to the country-wide inquiry of THE LITERARY DIGEST. Added to the tariff—which many editors urge should be taken out of politics and regulated by a non-partizan commission—are other issues, including preparedness, credited with 105 mentions. There are two kinds of preparedness, it appears, in the minds of our informants: the defensive, which is upheld by the majority; and the emphatic, which is not exactly offensive, but would like to see any one put it to the test. Prohibition and woman suffrage are not infrequently proposed; and among the rest we encounter the following: Mexico; our foreign policy; real neutrality; progressivism; a merchant marine; peace; the square deal to big business; prosperity, which is the Republican synonym for protection; the

Democratic war-tax; the Philippine policy; America first; the war in Europe; the Panama Canal tolls; the Progressive platform of 1912; and the failure of the Administration.

But there is an issue within the party that evokes conflicting



ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK.

CHARLES E. HUGHES, OF NEW YORK.

LEADERS OF THE POLL.

Out of more than 700 opinions, 249 favor Mr. Root as the candidate for the Presidency and 152 favor Justice Hughes. Mr. Hughes is held to be satisfactory to the Progressives, but refuses to consider the nomination. The doubts of critics, who think that Mr. Root is not the man to reunite the party, are met by the faith of his supporters who agree with ex-President Taft that he is "the one man who answers the requirements of the times."

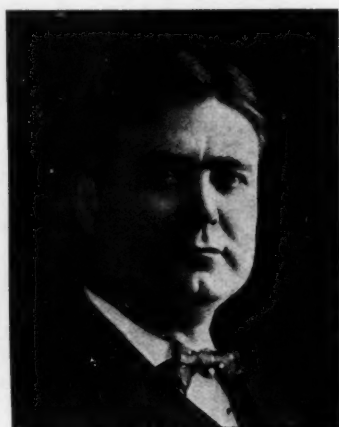
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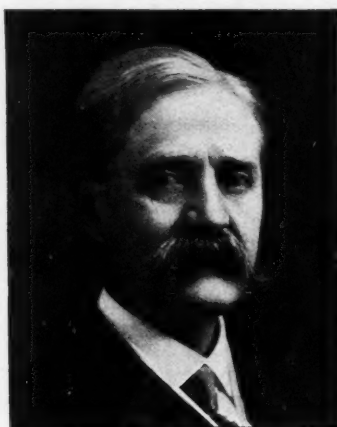
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SENATOR W. E. BORAH, OF IDAHO.



SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS, OF IOWA.



GOVERNOR JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA.

WESTERN FIGURES LOOMING ON THE PRESIDENTIAL HORIZON.

A strong desire is felt in the West for a candidate from that section. Senator Borah is the first choice with 108 votes, and Senator Cummins second with 77. Governor Johnson receives only 16 votes, and he and the Progressive party are considered "finished" by not a few Republicans in California. But the Progressives and Democrats believe he is the only man that can carry the State against President Wilson.

opinions from our editorial observers. Will the Progressives run an independent ticket in 1916, or will they rejoin the Republican party? As we travel across the continent from Bangor to Los Angeles we shall discover that the farther East we remain the surer is the expression that the Progressives, like the Prodigal Son, have "tired of a husk-diet and are back in their father's house." "Officially," they may run a ticket, but the rank and file will vote the Republican ballot, tho some will vote with the Democrats—such is the greatest concession made to their influence in New England. In numerous sections of the Middle West we are informed that "there ain't no sich animal" as a Progressive, or that he is "an extinct species." Yet from Ohio onward to the Pacific coast statements appear and reappear continually more thickly, despite contrary assertions, that the Progressives will vote with the Republicans if the latter name a Progressive candidate and platform; but that if the old standpat leaders and doctrines rule the convention, then the Grand Old Party will suffer rebuke No. 2 in 1916. As another editor expresses it, in such an event "there will be trouble in Iowa." We have an authoritative forecast of the action of the third party from Mr. George W. Perkins, chairman of its National Executive Committee, who, in a Chicago dispatch to the *New York Sun*, is quoted as saying: "The Progressive party must and will have a national ticket in the field in 1916."

In the matter of candidates chosen in this poll it should be noted at the beginning that certain contributors to it who class themselves as Republicans speak rather as Democrats or advanced Progressives when they name President Wilson as their first choice and a Progressive Republican or Progressive as their second. Other observers pick possible candidates seemingly from a point of view of uniqueness. Thus Henry Ford would be the choice of one "if he is a Republican." Major-General Goethals also is mentioned once or twice because of his Panama achievement, and Major-General Leonard Wood, by an editor whose soul is tuned to preparedness.

But the attention of the rank and file of Republican editors is fixt first of all on a rather large bevy of "favorite sons" of different States, and then on the men who enjoy a more national popularity throughout the country. Elihu Root stands at the head of the latter class with 249 favorable opinions, and following him comes Justice Hughes with 152 to his credit. A sectional issue appears in the fact that the Presidential "possibilities" of the Middle Western and Western States, including ex-Senator

Burton, of Ohio; ex-Vice-President Fairbanks, of Indiana; Senator Sherman, of Illinois; Senator Cummins, of Iowa, and Senator Borah, of Idaho, are enthusiastically proposed because, as we are informed, there is a strong desire that the President should be a man from the West or Middle West.

Some editors think that the recent rejection of the proposed New York Constitution by so large a majority was a serious blow to the chances of the former Senator from New York, as it was in large part his handiwork. But other observers, and among them a Washington correspondent of the *Boston Transcript*, say that while the defeat of the Constitution may weaken Mr. Root's chances in the Empire State, nevertheless the Progressivism he showed in the Constitutional Convention has made him more available than before among Westerners of Progressive mind, because they feel his effort was defeated by reactionary influences in the East. The unquestioned mental endowment of Mr. Root for foreign affairs, which will be "important elements in American life for some time," weighs heavily in his favor even among those who, like the *Chicago Tribune* (Prog. Rep.), describe him as appearing "strangely liberalized" at the Constitutional Convention, and think that—

"It might be dangerous to have as President a man whose ideas of domestic security were not offended or alarmed by the conduct of the Republican national party management in 1912.

"The service Mr. Root might do the country depends a great deal upon the theories of government which he has carried through the last three years. Unquestionably he is the biggest national character in good standing in the Republican party to-day."

In this connection it may be noted that Mr. Alexander H. Revell, who was one of the leaders of the Bull Moose movement in 1912, and claims still to be a thorough Republican, is quoted in a *New York Herald* dispatch from Chicago as saying that unless Mr. Root can be shown to be guiltless of any part in the renomination of Mr. Taft in 1912, hundreds of thousands of Progressives will join a movement to defeat the New York leader as the Republican nominee for President. Furthermore, Mr. Medill McCormick, once vice-chairman of the Progressive National Committee, is reported as stating in the *New York Sun* that as between the President and Elihu Root there is no choice for those who left the Republican party in 1912. They will vote for President Wilson.

Incidentally the *Chicago Tribune's* first choice for the nomination is Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, who is the favorite son of

Illinois, with 144 favorable opinions, mostly from that State. Altho Washington dispatches state that the action of Justice Hughes in having the Secretary of State of Nebraska keep his name off the primary Presidential ballot may not mean that he is eliminated from the list of men who will be seriously considered by the Republican convention, yet the New York *Sun* (Ind.) relates an incident that throws an illuminating ray on the situation:

"According to a story that has come to *The Sun* with the air of authenticity, Chief Justice White on a certain occasion talked about this momentous question [of the nomination] with Mr. Justice Hughes in a most impressive strain. . . . Chief Justice White maintained that the Supreme Court, with its obligation to safeguard the Constitution, might find itself standing some day between sane and authoritative government and anarchy. No trust could be more solemn and responsible. The Supreme Court must ever remain the bulwark of the people's liberties, and it could not preserve that indispensable function if the Justices exposed themselves to the suspicion of coveting the Presidency."

Other suggested candidates are Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, with 108 votes; Senator Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa, with 77; ex-President Taft, with 51; ex-President Roosevelt, with 47; ex-Vice-President Fairbanks, with 58, mostly from his State of Indiana; Senator John W. Weeks, who has 53 and is said to be counting on the support of Colonel Roosevelt; and Governor Johnson, of California, with 16. An interesting light is thrown on these figures if we assort them according to the four geographical divisions of the States in which we assemble our poll.

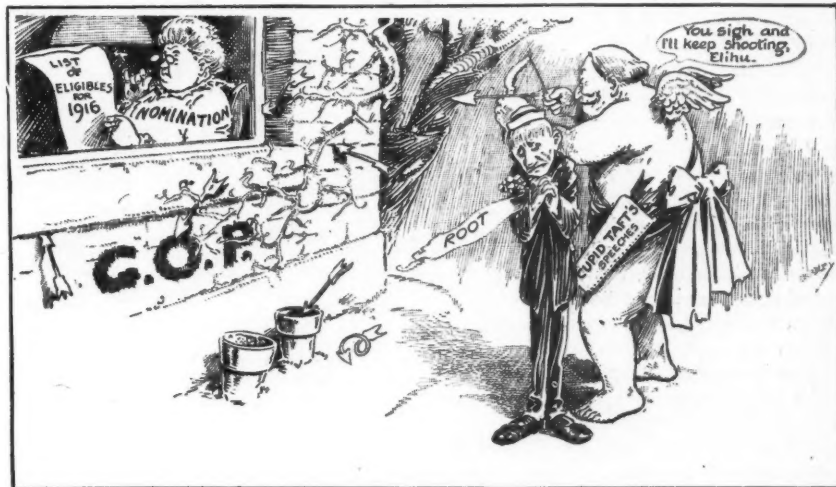
OPINIONS BY SECTIONS

In the initial group of nine Atlantic seaboard States from Maine to Delaware, out of 195 editors 48 favor Elihu Root as first choice and 35 as second. Justice Hughes is first choice of 41 and second of 17. Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, drawing on his New England backing to a considerable degree, is the first choice of 17 editors and the second of 7. Ex-President Taft is the first choice of 15 and the second of 5. Colonel Roosevelt is the first choice of 13 and the second of 7. The notable fact about the 13 votes for Colonel Roosevelt as first choice is that his native Empire State supplies only one, that of the *Peekskill News*, which chooses him as "the only man in sight big enough to beat Wilson." The 11 first-choice and 6 second-choice votes for Governor Brumbaugh proceed in most part from the Keystone State, where his election in 1914 by a majority of 150,000 over the combined Democratic and Progressive opposition has left its impression. In this section the prominent Western figures of ex-Senator Burton, of Ohio; Senator Borah, of Idaho, and Senator Cummins, of Iowa, loom small comparatively. Thus Mr. Burton is credited with the first choice of 7 and the second of 12 editors; Mr. Borah with 6 firsts and 11 seconds; and Mr. Cummins with 2 firsts and 4 seconds.

On the other hand, in the six States of our second division, from West Virginia to Wisconsin, we find ex-Senator Burton the first choice of 35 and the second of 32 editors. As an outsider Elihu Root is conspicuous as the first choice of 34 and the second of 53, while Justice Hughes is mentioned first by 10 and second by 18 editors. Senator Borah receives no first and 22 second mentions. The favorite son preeminent of this section is

Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, who is the first choice of 144 journals, chiefly in his State. Following him comes Indiana's favorite son, ex-Vice-President Charles Warren Fairbanks, who is named first by 35 and second by 14 editors. In these States, moreover, Senator Cummins receives 7 firsts and 5 seconds; Senator William Alden Smith, Michigan's favorite son, 5 firsts and 2 seconds; Senator La Follette, 2 firsts and 1 second; Mr. Taft, 4 firsts and 10 seconds; Colonel Roosevelt, 7 firsts and 1 second. Senator Weeks is mentioned only as second choice and by 6 editors.

In the nine West Mississippi Valley States, from Minnesota and North Dakota to Arkansas and Oklahoma, we credit Senator Cummins with 32 firsts and 8 seconds. Iowa in this division stands loyally by her senior Senator. Still farther removed from home, Senator Root is still picked as first choice by 31 journals and as second by 14. Justice Hughes, whom Nebraska leaders would put on the primary ticket if he had not denied them permission, is the first choice of 15 and the second of 10 journals. In this section ex-Senator Burton, of Ohio, is the first choice of 1 and the second of 13 editors. Ex-President



TEAM-WORK.

—Bradley in the Chicago Daily News.

Taft receives 4 firsts and 1 second; Colonel Roosevelt, 5 of each; Senator Weeks, 4 firsts and 7 seconds; Senator Sherman, 3 firsts and 4 seconds; Mr. Fairbanks, 1 of each.

In the States from Colorado to the Pacific Coast we meet Justice Hughes in the lead as an outsider with 18 firsts and 12 seconds; and Senator Borah, leading as a favorite son, with 22 firsts and 20 seconds. Mr. Root is credited with 12 first mentions and 7 seconds; Mr. Taft with 7 firsts and 5 seconds; Colonel Roosevelt with 5 firsts and 4 seconds; Senator Cummins with 2 firsts and 7 seconds; ex-Senator Burton with 4 firsts and 6 seconds; Senator Weeks with 1 first; Mr. Fairbanks with 1 of each, and Senator Sherman with 1 first and 2 seconds.

Governor Johnson, of California, who is said by some editors of his State to be able to make the Progressive voters do what he wants them to do, is mentioned first by 5 and second by 3 editors; in the States west of the Mississippi he is only a first choice once and a second twice; east of the Mississippi the second choice of 1; and on the Atlantic seaboard the first choice of 1 and the second of 3 editors.

OPINIONS OF SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

To turn next to the judgment of national legislators, we get word from Senator Works, of California, that he would be glad to state his preferred candidates if he knew them himself, which he confesses he does not. As to the issue he informs us that it is quite certain there will be more than one, of which the tariff

will undoubtedly be the chief, tho "there will be others that may be in the interest of the general public quite as important." On the question of the Progressives in California the Senator remarks: "Whether the Progressives stay with the Progressive party or not will depend upon the action of the national organization. If a candidate for the Presidency is put in the field there will probably be more Progressives adhere to the party in California than in any other State."

From Senator Reed Smoot we hear that "the Progressives fused with the Democrats a year ago. Nobody can tell what they will do next year." The Senator from Utah would prefigure the platform on the basis of the tariff, Mexico, and "extravagance in every department of the Government." Mr. Root is his first choice for the nomination and Justice Hughes his second. Senator Francis E. Warren, of Wyoming, would choose any one of the good men being talked about who may be selected by the National Convention as being the "strongest both as a candidate before the people and as President after election." The platform on which he shall stand, according to Senator Warren, includes the tariff, the raising of funds sufficient to support the Government, and the strengthening of the Army and Navy "not beyond conservative lines." There will be no Progressive ticket in Wyoming, he adds, and some of the Progressives will go over to the Democrats, but the most of them to the Republicans.

Senator William S. Kenyon, of Iowa, tells us that the Progressives in his State will return to the Republicans, that there are issues a-plenty for 1916, and that he has one choice only for the nomination, his colleague Senator Albert B. Cummins. Subject to change dependent on future development, Elihu Root, first, and Justice Hughes, second, are named by Senator Thomas B. Catron, of New Mexico. Nearly all the Progressives there, he writes, will go back to the Republicans, and the issue will be the tariff.

Senator Moses E. Clapp, of Minnesota, says: "Personally I would very much prefer to see Senator Cummins, of Iowa, nominated. I believe his nomination would very strongly appeal to the country. As to issue, that will depend a good deal on what happens this winter." Senator Henry C. Lodge, of Massachusetts, approves the candidacy of Senator Weeks, of whom he speaks in a statement to the press as follows:

"Personally, I shall do all in my power for him. He is not only my colleague, but my warm personal friend, and I have the highest regard for him as well as the greatest confidence in his ability, his character, and his strength of purpose, which are accompanied by sanity of judgment and thorough good sense. . . . The general sentiment in the other New England States is also very favorable to Senator Weeks, and Massachusetts expects to have their support of his candidacy."

The highly favored favorite son of Illinois, Senator Lawrence X. Sherman, sets down as issues a protective tariff, military and naval defense, economy, fairness to business, large or small, and national instead of sectional government. Of the Progressives he says that he does not think they will run an independent ticket, as the voters have already united with the Republican party. As to the Presidential nominee, Senator Sherman observes modestly that "Illinois will likely present a citizen of its State as a candidate."

Mr. Sherman is this citizen, according to the first choice of

5 out of 58 Republican members of Congress heard from. Elihu Root is the first choice of 7 and the second choice of 7; ex-Senator Burton is the first choice of 7 and the second of 5; Senator Weeks is the first choice of 5 and the second of 4; Justice Hughes is the first choice of 8 and the second of 1; Senator Cummins is the first choice of 5 and the second of 1; Senator Borah is the first choice of 3 and the second of 1. Other names mentioned are former Vice-President Fairbanks, Governor Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania; Senator Penrose, of that State; Senator La Follette, Congressman Mann, and Senator William Alden Smith, of Michigan. In the judgment of Mr. Edward J. King, of Illinois, "a statesman from the Middle West will be the next President of the United States," and he describes Senator Sherman as "a Republican of the Lincoln type, of proper age, a man of advanced but stable ideas." Then we

have Mr. Charles H. Rowland, of Pennsylvania, who presents Senator Boies Penrose, of that State, of whom he says that "his nomination as the Republican candidate would mean the downfall of national Democracy for a generation." Mr. William S. Vare, also of the Keystone State, believes that the Progressives will join the Republicans with Governor Martin G. Brumbaugh as the nominee, and reminds us that in 1914 Mr. Brumbaugh carried the State over Mr. Vance McCormick, who was backed by the Democrats and Progressives combined, by a majority of 150,000 votes. On the other hand, a Far-Western Representative, who reserves his identity, tells us that a Republican ticket with Justice



"IT'S MOTHER!"

—Donahy in the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Hughes for President and Senator Borah for Vice-President would "sweep the country with unprecedented majorities."

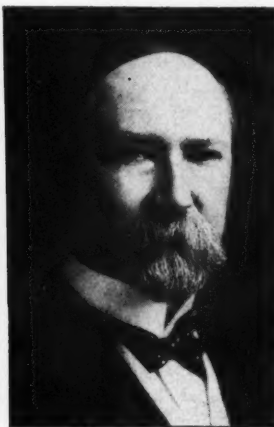
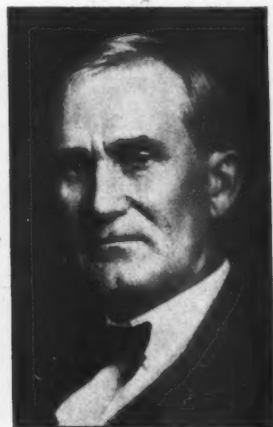
The verdict of 53 of the 58 Representatives from all parts of the country is that the great issue of the campaign will be the tariff, while as for the Progressives 42 state that they have rejoined, or will rejoin, the Republican party and will not run an independent ticket. Mr. Edmund Platt, of New York, says that in his belief Colonel Roosevelt himself will support the Republican nominee in 1916 for the Presidency; and Mr. Jacob E. Meeker, of Missouri, states that not only are the Progressives returning, but that a lot of Democrats are coming into the fold. The majority of Wisconsin Progressives, remarks Mr. John J. Esch, of that State, under any other leadership than La Follette's, will come back to the Republican fold; but Mr. W. B. McKinley, of Illinois, confesses he does not know just what the Progressives will do. There are some leaders left, he adds, but not much chorus.

Other Illinois Congressmen hold the view that the Progressives in the State are "negligible." From sections of the West particularly we hear that the Progressives will come back if the Republicans nominate a ticket and adopt a platform that "will tend to mollify rather than antagonize them"; but Mr. E. A. Hayes, of California, writes that it is likely the Progressives will run an independent ticket, tho in his judgment most of the voters will either rejoin the Republican party or go over to Democracy. An Eastern Congressman says that the Progressives will undoubtedly run a ticket in his State because "the disgruntled politicians, who compose their leaders, intend to do everything possible to defeat the Republican party."

While the tariff is plainly the foremost issue in the minds of



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EX-SENATOR THEODORE E. BURTON,
OF OHIO.EX-VICE-PRESIDENT FAIRBANKS,
OF INDIANA.SENATOR JOHN W. WEEKS,
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

© Gibson-Sykes-Fowler, Chicago.

SENATOR LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN,
OF ILLINOIS.

"FAVORITE SONS."

Ex-Senator Burton, Ohio's only choice, runs well also across the country. Of his 122 votes 74 are from the Eastern Valley of the Mississippi and the remainder from other sections of the country, East and West. From the same district and chiefly from his State of Illinois come 132 of the 144 votes for Senator Sherman. From this region also, and chiefly from his State of Indiana, come 50 of the 58 votes for Mr. Fairbanks. From the Atlantic seaboard States, and chiefly from New England, come 29 of the 53 votes for Senator Weeks.

Republican Congressmen, as we have seen, the developments of the coming session, as Mr. Ernest W. Roberts, of Massachusetts, advises us, may furnish other and equally vital issues. "The terrible war in Europe," he adds, "has been the salvation of the business of this country. But for that we would unquestionably have seen greater depression and more hardships than ever known before, thanks to the unwise policies of the Democratic party." Additional issues to the tariff mentioned by our informants are the "sins" of the Wilson Administration; Southern domination; preparedness; Mexico, and Americanism. Mr. Frank L. Greene, of Vermont, bespeaks "the substitution of legitimate laws of trade and economics for day-dreams of theorists and hold-ups of demagogues," and William J. Cary, of Wisconsin, would run Senator La Follette or ex-Senator Burton on a platform to "stop graft and curb Wall Street."

We start now on our cross-country tour of Republican editorial offices from Maine to California.

MAINE TO DELAWARE

The favorite son of distant Idaho, Senator William Edgar Borah, is the first choice of the *Portland Express-Advertiser*, which names Supreme Court Justice Hughes as second. But the *Bethel Oxford County Gazette* places the Justice first and alone, and names the tariff as the chief issue of the campaign. The *Express-Advertiser* gives the tariff, yet includes with it the Mexican situation. As for the Progressives of the State, both journals say they are inclined to rejoin the Republican party, an opinion practically concurred in by the *Ellsworth American*, which tells us that altho the Progressives will not return to the fold "officially," they will make no nominations, and the majority will vote with the Republicans.

In *New Hampshire* the Republicans are well united, observes the *Exeter News Letter*; and while the *Concord Monitor* informs us that nine-tenths of the Progressives have already come back, still it adds that "if there is a national Progressive ticket it will have some support." In all probability the Progressives will not run an independent ticket, according to the *Manchester Mirror and American*, an opinion echoed by the *Portsmouth Chronicle*, the *Nashua Telegraph*, and other journals. But the *Rochester Courier* thinks that whether an independent ticket is run or not, the Progressives will vote with the Republicans, "provided the Republicans make suitable nominations and show

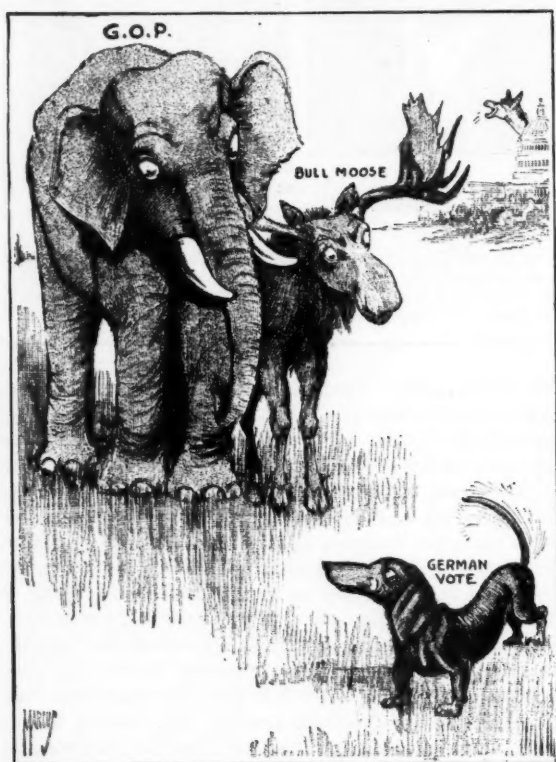
a Progressive spirit." Throwing up his hands, the editor of the *Newport Champion* exclaims, "God only knows what unbalanced people will do!" That the tariff is to be the main issue of 1916 is the verdict of 9 out of 12 papers of the Granite State. Coupled with it we note preparedness, Democratic Mexican bungling, and domestic incompetency, while the aforementioned *Concord Monitor* bases the campaign squarely on "adequate protection of our nation against foreign invasion, military and naval and industrial." In the matter of candidates Senator Weeks is mentioned first by 4 journals in 12 and as second choice by 1. Mr. Root, too, is mentioned first by 4 and as second by 3 journals. Others named are Justice Hughes, ex-Senator Burton, Mr. Taft, and Colonel Roosevelt. Altho it is sixty-four years since New England has had a President, remarks the *Lebanon Granite State Free Press*, which presents Mr. Root first and Senator Weeks second, still nobody here is for any man "first, last, and all the time." Everybody wants the man who can best unite the elements in opposition to the Democrats.

In *Vermont*, Justice Hughes is the first choice of 7 in 13 journals; Senator Weeks the first choice of 2 and the second of 3; Mr. Root the second of 3 and the first of 1. Others named are Senator Cummins, Senator Borah, ex-Senator Burton, and Colonel Roosevelt. Justice Hughes is mentioned first by the editor of the *Bellows Falls Times*, who classes himself with the Republicans, but gives as his second choice President Wilson. The tariff is to be the chief issue of the campaign, according to this journal, and the like opinion is voiced by the *Rutland Herald*, the *Brattleboro Phoenix*, and others. The tariff is mentioned also by the *Rutland News*, which subjoins "business common sense" and a wise attitude toward legitimate big business, including the railroads. The *Middlebury Register* sees the need of adequate protection and abolition of war-taxes, the *Bennington Banner* also asks for a protective tariff and, in addition, "a creditable foreign policy and less theory and more accomplishment." The editor of the *Barton Monitor* sums up his platform ideas under the loop of a comprehensive P as follows:

Preparedness.
Prohibition.
Efficiency.
Lunder.

As to the status of the Progressive party some editors of the *Green Mountain State* consider that the days of its independence

are over and that its members are coming back home to the parental roof of Republicanism as fast as they can. But others are not so sure. Thus the *Enosburg Standard* and *St. Johnsbury Republican* note that the Progressives are still independent, but that they would probably unite for Hughes if the regulars take a firm advanced stand on public questions as they have always been expected to do. It is doubtful whether the Moose will have a separate ticket, says the *Rutland News*, which adds that in any case it can command only negligible independent support because most of the Progressives will return to the Republican party, while a smaller portion will rejoin the Democratic organization. In this connection the *Bennington Banner* says that



A TRIPLE ALLIANCE?

THE DACHSHUND—"It's all right, boys, you can count on me."

THE OTHER TWO—"Can we? Well, we won't."

—Marcus in the *New York Times*.

"it must be remembered that a considerable percentage of Progressives in New England, at least, came from the Democratic party and will likely return to it."

Crossing the State line into *Massachusetts*, we learn from the *Boston Record* that the Progressives will vote for any reasonably liberal Republican candidate on a fairly liberal platform; but it adds that "to secure the full Progressive support the Republicans must meet them half-way." For Presidential timber this journal has no choice other than Theodore Roosevelt, because he is the one man that can mobilize the enthusiastic support of the Republican and the Progressive rank and file, and because "as conditions are to-day, no other candidate would even make a respectable showing." As for the issues of the campaign, *The Record* sets them down as follows:

"Adequate preparation to meet the intense industrial competition that will follow the closing of the war through a permanent tariff commission and an attitude of encouragement rather than hostility to cooperation in business.

"Adequate military and naval preparation for defense and to make effective such policies as the country declares."

Against the proposition that Colonel Roosevelt is the only available candidate for the Republicans we receive from nine other *Massachusetts* editors the name of Senator John Wingate

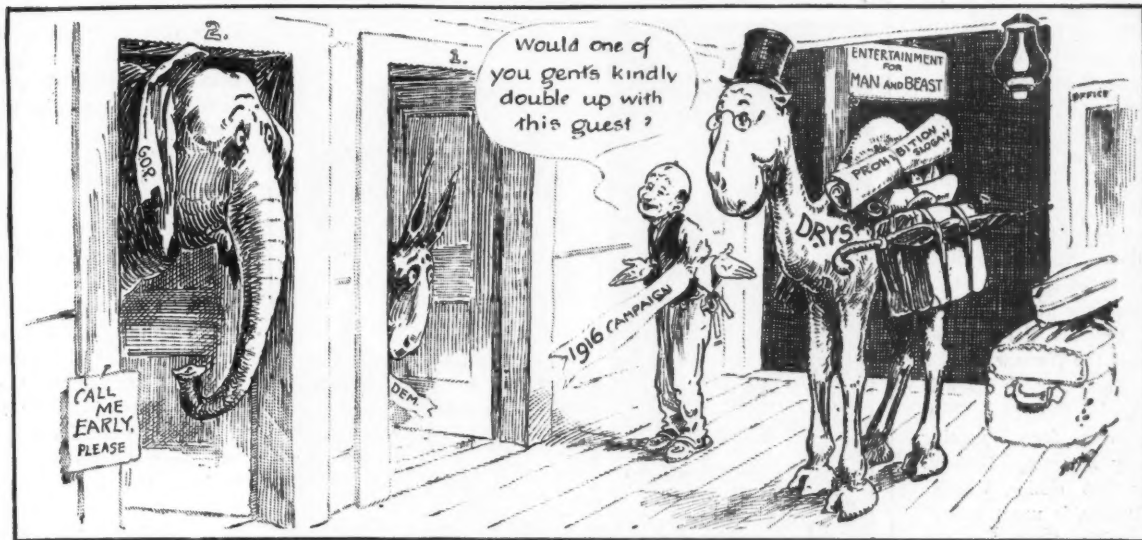
Weeks as first choice for nomination. Three of these judges have the feeling that it is a little too early for definite opinion, altho they add that Senator Weeks will naturally have the support of his State in the running. Others mentioned first are Justice Hughes, Senator Root, Senator Borah, ex-Senator Burton, ex-Governor Hadley, of Missouri, and ex-President Taft. Senator Weeks and Colonel Roosevelt are each named once as second choice. There is a marked difference of opinion on the outlook for the Progressive party, as may be gathered from the opinion of the *Milford Journal*, which says the party is badly split and that it is hard to see far ahead in the matter because the situation is "too indefinite." Then we have the statement of the *Fitchburg Sentinel* that the Progressives are displaying little activity, while such journals as the *Taunton Gazette*, the *Haverhill Gazette*, and several others say that the State campaign this fall which resulted in the election of Samuel McCall as Governor shows that the Progressives have returned to the Republican party. But when we turn to the *Holyoke Transcript* it is to learn that in 1916 the Progressives "will stand for the best as they see it," which is capable of several interpretations.

The protection of American industries is to be the chief plank in the platform of the Republican party, say the majority of the Bay State editors above quoted; and some of them include with it adequate national defense and "our foreign policy." In the view of the *Pittsfield Eagle* what is needed is "a non-partizan tariff of a flexible nature in the hands of high-grade men who are not practical politicians"; while the *Greenfield Gazette* defines the issue as the "incompetence of the Democrats to handle business problems" and their "tendency to try to reform everything all at once."

Entering *Rhode Island* we are confronted by the *Westerly Sun* with a similar charge of Democratic "inefficiency" as an issue, together with the tariff, and the *Providence News* seeks "a protective tariff as against the valueless one now in operation." The latter journal advocates preparedness also, but does not consider it a partizan question at this time. Senator Weeks and former Governor Herriek, of Ohio, impress it favorably as Presidential possibilities; and the *Westerly Sun* would pick either Mr. Root or Senator Weeks. As to the Progressives, *The Sun* says they are rejoining, while *The News* observes that the Bull Moose party is "no longer anything but a memory in Rhode Island."

Across the line in *Connecticut*, where the Progressive party was never very formidable, as the *Hartford Courant* informs us, it is now pretty well disintegrated. Still the Progressives may run a ticket of their own. It will probably depend much upon "what Roosevelt says and does." Other observers in the Nutmeg State also find the Progressives dispersing, or dispersed, and drifting either to the Republicans or the Democrats. In the matter of candidates *The Courant* expresses no choice because "the field is still open," and the *New London Day* is of similar mind. Nor does the latter journal venture to predict what the issue of 1916 will be, altho several of its contemporaries have no hesitancy in specifying "protection for American industries." On this topic the *Waterbury Republican* says:

"In 1912 a great many residents of New England, who had more or less reason for being dissatisfied with the elements in control of the Republican party, voted for a change. They got a change in tariff. Shortly after the Underwood Law went into effect business throughout New England started to decline. . . . When the war broke out, people found out that Waterbury, which is a watchmaking town, had been for years importing all its watch-crystals from France, Switzerland, and Germany. The French district was in the war-zone. It was highly important to Waterbury because you can not sell a watch without a crystal, and the Waterbury Clock Company makes about 10,000 watches a day. The Waterbury Clock Company soon afterward announced the success of some of its experiments at making watch-crystals on a commercial scale. It was the first



LODGINGS WANTED.

—Bradley in the Chicago Daily News.

time it had been done in the United States. Our local Democratic newspaper thereupon urged editorially the need of protection for this infant industry. It seemed to us very significant."

National preparedness, neutrality, and the tariff will be the basis of the platform in 1916, we hear from the Torrington Register, which calls attention to the fact also that leading men in both the Republican and Democratic parties have been quoted as declaring that preparedness is to be one of the chief issues of the campaign. If their forecasts are true, this editor says, there is every reason to believe that when the fight is over "neither Republican nor Democratic party will be recognizable by their votaries of other generations." We are told, too, that the campaign of 1916 will be full of startling surprises. President Wilson has proved himself an astute politician, and by a policy of non-interference with the war-munition and banking interests has secured the approval of British sympathizers and recruited under his political banner many thousands of wealthy men who always before were stanch members of the Republican party. At the same time, this editor goes on to say, the biggest issue before the American people is the tariff, altho it may seem to be dead or in declining health; and it will continue such until we have a tariff that will adjust itself automatically to changed conditions, "but times change and new generations are likely to get dust in their eyes and fail to see things as they are." Picked as first choice for the Republican nomination by the Torrington Register is Senator Burton, of Ohio; and as second, Senator Borah, of Idaho. Other journals mention as first choice ex-President Taft, Justice Hughes, Congressman Mann, of Illinois, and Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts. As second choice, ex-President Taft, Congressman Mann, and ex-Governor Hadley, of Missouri.

In New York State, Mr. William Barnes, chairman of the party's committee and publisher of the Albany Journal, can not fail to be impressive when he writes down Elihu Root as first and second choice for the Presidential nomination. As to platform, Mr. Barnes epitomizes it in the phrase "Common Sense." Answering the inquiry whether there are indications that the Progressives in his vicinity will run an independent ticket or return to the fold, Mr. Barnes utters an all-embracing "No" to both ends of the interrogatory. Mr. Ogden Mills Reid, editor of the New York Tribune, states the issue in the inclusive expression of "Protection of American lives and interests both at home and abroad." Nor is it likely in his opinion that the Progressives will run an independent ticket, while as to candidates he says:

"It seems to me very early to have either a first or second choice for the Republican nomination for President altho many good men have been named. If Senator Root should be a candidate at the Republican Convention, *The Tribune* would support him."

Now if we take the platform label of Mr. Barnes as a key-note we find that out of 50 Republican editors in New York 45 believe "common sense" means that the issue of 1916 will be a protective tariff and prosperity. The dissenters are the Ellicottville Post, which advocates "progressive principles," proposes Mr. Taft and Justice Hughes as first and second choice; and the Swedish Vart Land, of Jamestown, backing Senator La Follette and Gifford Pinchot on the strange Republican diet of Government-ownership of mines and railroads. Coupled with the tariff-issue in the minds of the majority of the New York editors here represented we discover preparedness, our foreign policy, the Mexican question, and a merchant marine. The Delhi Republican would have a merchant fleet, as well as an increase in the size of our Army and Navy; and among other journals in favor of a policy of preparedness are the Buffalo Commercial, the Goshen Democrat, the Dunkirk Evening Observer, the Madison County Leader, and the Herkimer Citizen, which adds that we must have peace with honor—but at any price, peace. The Middleburgh News also considers the European War an issue, while listed with the adverse critics of President Wilson's "weak foreign policies" are the Tarrytown News and the De Ruyter Gleaner. "Whaling the Mexicans" is the plank the Fredonia Courier would write in the platform, and the Lockport Journal likewise considers the Democratic handling of the situation in Mexico an issue. The Poughkeepsie Eagle-News would wage the battle for protection and "a virile, red-blooded American Administration."

As to candidates the Geneva Times informs us that Justice Hughes and Elihu Root are the only men who can defeat President Wilson for reelection, but the Peekskill News says that "Theodore Roosevelt is the only man in sight big enough to beat Wilson." This mention and one as second choice are the only times we hear Colonel Roosevelt's name in the Empire State. On the other hand, out of 50 opinions Mr. Root is named in 22 as first choice; Justice Hughes in 16; Mr. Taft in 5, and Governor Whitman in one. The problem rises here that must be kept in mind as we notice the extent and weight of Root sentiment, and especially of Hughes sentiment, across the country. "If Mr. Root is a candidate," remarks the Syracuse Post Standard, "he will doubtless have the support of Republicans in this

section; but they don't believe he will be a candidate." Then again we are advised by the Watertown Times, which would choose Justice Hughes first and Mr. Root second, that as neither of them is available, recourse must be taken to a third choice—ex-Senator Burton, of Ohio. Another possibility from the Buckeye State, ex-Governor Myron T. Herick, receives the indorsement of the Warsaw Western New Yorker, whose editor is Mr. Levi A. Cass, State Committeeman for Wyoming County Assembly District. "My first choice, Charles E. Hughes, is unavailable," writes Mr. Cass, "so my first choice of the available men is Mr. Herick." The former Governor of Ohio is named as second choice by five other editors in New York State. Among others mentioned second are Senator Borah, David Jayne Hill, once Ambassador to Germany; Congressman Mann, Frank J. Hanly, former Governor of Indiana, and Henry Ford, of Detroit.

Any first-class candidate that the Republicans nominate, the Lockport Journal informs us, will probably have the majority support of the Progressives. Altho they did have a ticket in the field at the recent election, this journal goes on to say, there seems small likelihood that they would run a Presidential candidate against a high type of Republican. The Jamestown Journal says there is little left of the Progressives in that section, while The Post of the same city observes that altho the Progressive name is used locally for independent movements, most of the Progressives have returned to the Republican party. The latter statement is voiced also by the Buffalo Commercial, the Elmira Advertiser, the Batavia News, the Port Jervis Union, the Plattsburg Press, the Amsterdam Recorder, the Potsdam Courier and Freeman, and several others.

As an organization the Progressives will run an independent ticket, in the judgment of the Troy Times, but as individuals they will rejoin the older organization. From the German Freie Presse in the same city and from other journals we hear that the Progressives will probably join the Republicans with the inducement of some liberal candidate; and the Schenectady Union-Star believes that the nomination of Justice Hughes "surely would lead to the absolute dissipation of the Progressive party, and that in any event there won't be much of it left by next year." But the Port Henry Essex County News says that the Progressives will run an independent ticket, while from



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EX-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

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EX-PRESIDENT TAFT.

LEADERS OF THE DIVIDED PARTY.

The one-time Presidents run neck and neck, Mr. Taft with 51 votes and Colonel Roosevelt with 47. Mr. Taft says he is not a candidate, and the Colonel's statements are mainly on the subject of "preparedness."

a policy of protection "built upon knowledge gained by a tariff commission, and not the old political shuttlecock system." The Cape May County Gazette and the Mount Holly Mirror want a protective tariff and deliverance from "war-taxes"; and, in addition to the tariff, the Red Bank Standard suggests "a square deal for business, big and little." Preparedness also joins with the tariff, in the judgment of the Elizabeth Journal and the Cape May Star and Wave, and along with the main feature of its platform the Bridgeton News presents woman suffrage and local option. The comprehensive phrase, "the social welfare of the people," would be the label of the platform next year, in the view of the Red Bank Register, meaning issues similar to those which have found favor in California.

We are not surprised consequently that this journal suggests as candidates, first, Governor Hiram Johnson, and second, Theodore Roosevelt. Nor should it come upon us unexpectedly to have Colonel Roosevelt proposed as second choice by the Rutherford Bergen Advertiser, which names Major-General Leonard Wood first on the issues of the Monroe Doctrine, protection to Americans in foreign lands, and a vigorous foreign policy. It seems natural, moreover, that the Roosevelt News should pick Colonel Roosevelt first and Governor Johnson, of California, second, for the nomination; but the selection of the Arlington Observer, Theodore Roosevelt first, Woodrow Wilson second, is a thing apart. The problem to the Freehold Monmouth Inquirer resolves itself in the editor's statement that follows: "If Henry Ford could be nominated, if he is a Republican,



VINE AND OAK.

—Tuthill in the St. Louis Star.

(Continued on page 1431)

A PRESIDENTIAL PEACE-MESSAGE IN WAR-TIME

THAT THE LURID LIGHT of the Old World's conflagration causes the problems of the New World to take on new shapes is evidenced in every sentence of President Wilson's message to Congress. For this reason the London *Times* characterizes it as "by force of events a war-message from beginning to end." Yet because the "single thought" running through it, as the President himself declares, is "national efficiency and security," many papers speak of it as essentially a peace-message. Thus the Chicago *Daily News* (Ind.) hails it as a "great" message "in that it shows how

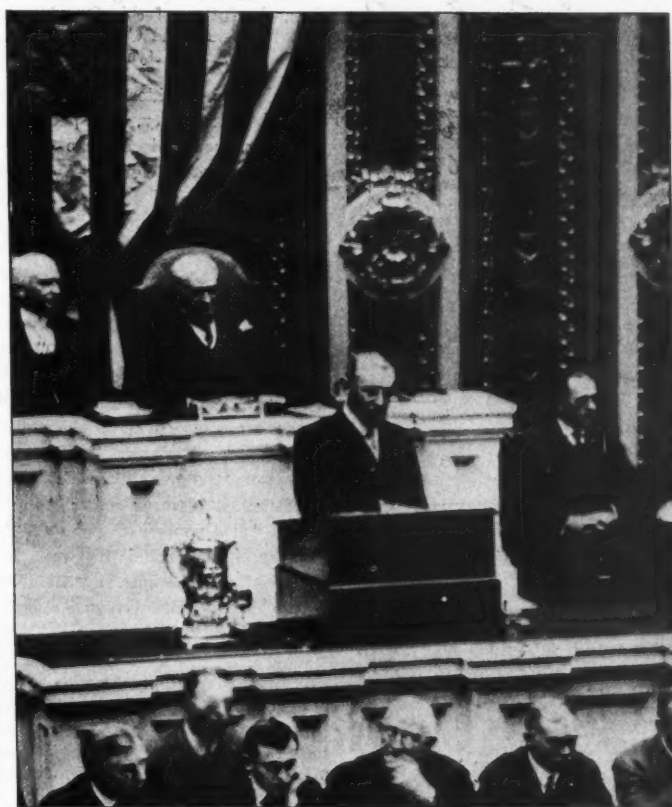
Americans may be free and prosperous and efficient and patriotic and yet remain at peace," and the New York *Times* (Ind. Dem.) affirms that no Presidential message since the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine "has been so exclusively devoted to the greater problems of the nation, the problem of assuring its growth with peace, with safety, and with honor." Altho disappointing alike to the jingoes and the extreme pacifists, remarks the Harrisburg *Patriot* (Ind. Dem.), the address affords "additional justification of the faith which the vast majority of American citizens have in President Wilson." To the Boston *Herald* (Ind.) his program represents "a safe middle course," and the Brooklyn *Eagle* (Ind. Dem.) finds in his words "a fine statement of Americanism." "Altogether the most forceful utterance that has come from Woodrow Wilson since he has

been in the White House," exclaims the Washington *Herald* (Ind.), and the Baltimore *Sun* (Ind.) calls it "a ringing appeal to the patriotism and good sense of our people." "It is in effect a 'call to arms' of the American citizens of whatever nationality to enroll under the Stars and Stripes in the erection of national defenses of divers kinds against all foes, foreign and domestic," says the Syracuse *Journal* (Ind.), and in the opinion of the Boston *Traveler* (Ind.) it embodies "the platform on which the President's party must renominate him if it wishes to succeed."

But it must not be inferred from these phrases that the message is received with unanimous approval. On the contrary, it is criticized by Mr. Bryan as "revolutionary" and denounced by wireless from Mr. Ford's "peace-ship" as "reactionary"; scorned by Colonel Roosevelt on the ground that the President "has met a policy of blood and iron with a policy of milk and water"; and bitterly assailed by a large section of the German-

American press for its pillorying of certain hyphenated Americans who have "poured the venom of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life"; and deprecated by the New York *Evening Post* (Ind.) because "it covers a multitude of taxes." "It holds out little light to Congress or the country," says the New York *Tribune* (Rep.), and the Boston *Transcript* (Ind. Rep.) complains that "it is burdened with the statement of problems for which no adequate solution is proposed." Another Republican paper, the Baltimore *American*, finds in "the absence of specific treatment of domestic issues" evidence that

"the head of the nation is not proud of his record." In Washington, we are informed by one correspondent, "the principal criticism made of the message in private is that it is so general in terms, except on defense and taxation, that it is difficult for any person to determine whether he agrees with it or not." In Colonel Roosevelt's picturesque phraseology, "Mr. Wilson's elocution is that of a Byzantine logothete—and Byzantine logothetes were not men of action." The Colonel sees little in the message except words used "to cover a policy of dishonorable inaction." He does, it is true, concede that the President "is entirely correct" in his strong arraignment of disloyalty among hyphenated Americans; but he adds that "as a matter of fact Mr. Wilson is himself responsible for most of the conditions of which he complains"



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"WE ARE . . . HERALDS AND PROPHETS OF A NEW AGE."

President Wilson addressing the new Congress on the state of the Union.

because he did not move promptly and effectively against this menace when it first showed its head.

THE NEW PAN-AMERICANISM

The President's suggestion that the nations of North and South America "have become conscious of a new and more vital community of interest and moral partnership in affairs," which he calls the new Pan-Americanism, leads some of his newspaper supporters to aver that he has superseded the Monroe Doctrine with the "Wilson Doctrine." "All America for Americans and all Americans for America" perhaps expresses it," says the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* (Dem.), and the Boston *Globe* (Ind.) explains that "he wants the republics of the western hemisphere to unite in a fraternity of democracy, a coalition of power, to protect each other's development," instead of "drifting aimlessly into a whirlpool of world politics." Thus "the Monroe Doctrine of yesterday becomes the American Doctrine

of to-day and to-morrow," remarks the *Pittsburg Dispatch* (Ind.). If this is true, says the *Indianapolis News* (Ind.), "we have gained much." The President's remark that our devotion to this new ideal has been "put to the test in Mexico" draws from the *New York Commercial* (Com.) the admission that his much-criticized Mexican policy "won the confidence of the Latin-American republics south of Mexico and kept us out of war with or in Mexico." And the Pan-American ideal, according



THE FIRST LESSON.

—Kirby in the *New York World*.

to a Canadian paper, *The Standard*, of Kingston, Ontario, "will find a responsive note in the hearts of the people of Canada." This section of the message, Washington correspondents report, arouses great enthusiasm among the Latin-American diplomats, and John Barrett, Director of the Pan-American Union, confirms the belief in "the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American policy or principle." In a letter to the *New York Times*, he says:

"It is no exaggeration to state that the European War has done more than any other international event or series of events since the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 to awaken the Governments and peoples of all America to a realization of the common interest, the common aspirations, and the common purposes of the twenty-one American Republics."

Yet several papers, among them the *Albany Knickerbocker Press* (Ind.) and the *New York Evening Sun* (Ind.), think that the President's words about Pan-Americanism, while "beatific" and "charming," "lack precision and definition." The *New York Tribune* declares that instead of developing the Monroe Doctrine he has "merely obscured it a little," and the *Portland Oregonian* (Ind. Rep.) does not believe that the people of the United States will approve "the President's modification of the Monroe Doctrine to take other American Republics into partnership for its maintenance."

DISLOYAL CITIZENS

The President's terrific denunciation of certain foreign-born Americans "who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life," and his request for Federal laws to deal with them, elicit wider applause and more bitter disapproval than any other feature of the message. "It is

indeed time to uproot this sort of Americanism and extirpate it," declares the *Philadelphia Evening Ledger* (Ind. Rep.), and the same uncompromising attitude is taken by such responsible papers as the *Baltimore American* (Rep.), *Pittsburg Gazette-Times* (Rep.), *Washington Post* (Ind.), *Springfield Republican* (Ind.), *Paterson Call* (Rep.), *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (Rep.), *Cleveland Leader* (Rep.) and *Plain Dealer* (Dem.), *Chicago Herald* (Ind.), *Boston Post* (Ind. Dem.), *Detroit Free Press* (Ind.), and the *New York Sun* (Ind.), *Times* (Ind. Dem.), *Tribune* (Rep.), *Globe* (Ind.), and *World* (Dem.). In *The World* we read:

"No other part of that address was so momentous as those paragraphs in which the President asserted that 'the gravest threats against our peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders.' . . . Unless this session of Congress is alive with the inspiration of 'America First,' unless it is willing to subordinate everything else to that cardinal principle of patriotism, the future of this Republic is darker than it has been at any time since the Confederacy reached its high tide on Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg."

Altho the President does not specify any nationality in denouncing disloyalty, and particularly states that the number of naturalized citizens who come under this condemnation is not large, many German-American papers fiercely resent his words as an "attack on German-Americans." "We knew long ago that this traffic in arms and the doubtful neutrality, as persisted in by Washington, would make this country a hotbed of European-War passion," says the *New-Yorker Herald*, which adds: "The attack against the German-Americans made in the Presidential message is the most poisonous flower from this hotbed of passion." "President Wilson does not name the German-Americans, but he means them," declares the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, which "most emphatically denies that the German-Americans wish to make the United States subservient to the interests of Germany." The *Milwaukee Germania Herald* speaks of "the great injustice" done the German-Americans by the President's words, and the *Omaha Tribune* regrets that Mr. Wilson "has poured oil upon the flame" of race-hatred in this country. The people will want to know the facts behind the President's accusations, says the *Chicago Abendpost*. The editor of the *Philadelphia German Gazette*, however, does not believe that President Wilson refers to German-Americans. He says:

"We have not been guilty in any way of taking part in any conspiracy. I think that the German-Americans are truer Americans than some other people in this country, for example, the British. . . ."

"President Wilson's message is not an indictment of the German-American, and if it were, it would be untrue."

PREPAREDNESS

In his program of military and naval preparedness for national defense, already familiar to the public through his recent Manhattan Club speech, the President goes too far for some of his critics and not far enough for others. Thus *The Advocate of Peace* (Washington) remonstrates that "this Congress was not elected on any such issue, and has no mandate from the people to dispense a billion dollars in five years in the directions proposed," while the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Rep.) remarks that "he would seem to be trying to convert the peace-at-any-price contingent to his way of thinking, a thoroughly hopeless task, without offering the advocates of real preparedness anything more than half a loaf when they are calling for a whole one." The subject, thinks the *New York Press* (Ind. Rep.), "is naturally abhorrent to him," and the *New York Tribune* (Rep.) recalls the fact that a year ago he rigidly refused to sanction any increase of the regular Army. He now recommends a 41 per cent. increase of the officers' corps and a 30 per cent. increase of the enlisted force, and a naval building program that would add 186 war-craft to the Navy in five years. But *The Tribune* agrees with Colonel Roosevelt that this program is inadequate, and

argues that we should have a minimum regular army of 250,000, instead of the proposed 142,000; and the *Philadelphia Bulletin* (Ind. Rep.) thinks that even after another \$500,000,000 has been spent on war-ships the Navy will still "fall far short of what the nation needs for its adequate defense on two oceans." Among the many papers approving the preparedness program, however, we find the *New York Sun* (Ind.) and *Globe* (Ind.), *Boston Journal* (Ind.), and *St. Louis Republic* (Dem.).

HOW TO RAISE THE MONEY

The portion of the message which will be least satisfactory to the country, predicts the *Washington Herald* (Ind.), is that devoted to the revenues. And Representative Mann, Republican leader in the House, notes with special interest the President's confession that the Treasury would have a deficit of \$297,000,000 unless emergency taxation measures were resorted to. "This shows," Mr. Mann cheerfully remarks, "that the Democratic party is incapable of administering the affairs of the Government." The President estimates that if Congress adopts his defense program there will be a deficit at the end of the next fiscal year of \$112,000,000, even with the present emergency taxation and duty on sugar continued. Believing that we should "pay as we go" in this matter of preparedness, the President advises that the money be raised by internal taxation. He would lower the present limit of exemption from the income tax, and impose taxes on gasoline, automobiles, internal-explosion engines, pig iron, and fabricated iron and steel, with a stamp tax on bank-checks. "Aside from the income tax," remarks the *New York American* (Ind.), "these recommendations are all aimed at production and industry, and the taxation would be both irritating and fundamentally unsound." The *Boston Herald* (Ind.), on the other hand, affirms that "in his desire to avoid the bond issue the President is undeniably sound," and this view is echoed in many quarters.

THE RAILROAD PROBLEM

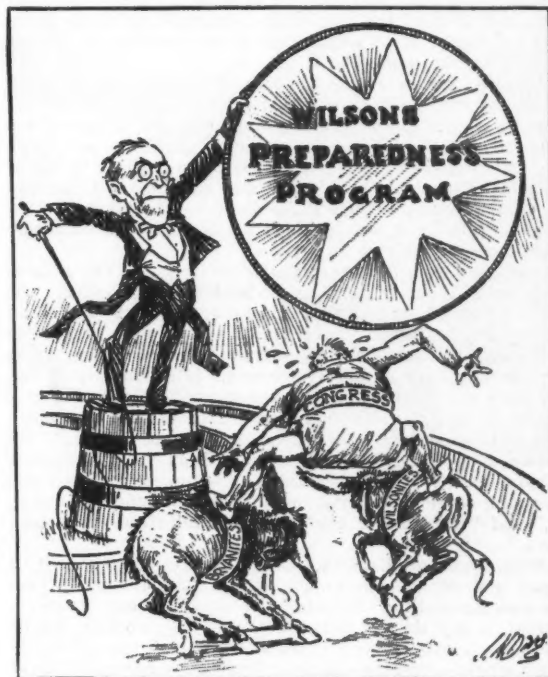
The President's "admirable reference" to the railway situation seems to the *New York Press* (Ind. Rep.), the most significant thing in his discussion of domestic problems. Indeed, declares *The World*, it "might in less troublesome times command exclusive attention." The *New York Sun*, crediting Mr. Wilson with a complete about-face on the subject, says eloquently: "Such a retraction in such a quarter must mean for the cramped and oppressed railroads more than a rainbow's prismatic illusion; it must mean something like the dawn of hope that precedes the morning light." The *Chicago Tribune* (Rep.), on the other hand, does not desecry any new light shining from this "cryptic paragraph." The President, it will be remembered, simply called attention to the seriousness of the transportation problem and suggested an inquiry by a Federal committee or commission before the enactment of any new legislation. These Presidential remarks, "however cryptic," have their value, the *Boston News Bureau* thinks; "they tend toward assurance to the transportation industry of unprejudiced and intelligent treatment; and they should aid in inspiring a somewhat similar attitude among lesser holders of office." But *The Wall Street Journal* is dismayed at the prospect of new investigations.

THE MESSAGE IN BRIEF

PAN-AMERICANISM. After defending our neutral attitude in the war, he affirms that neutrality has brought the nations of America into a new "moral partnership." This involves "no claim of guardianship or thought of wards," such as once existed, "but, instead, a full and honorable association as of partners between ourselves and our neighbors, in the interest of all America, North and South." This does not mean any abatement of the Monroe Doctrine, but means a fuller understanding that "the States of America are not hostile rivals, but cooperating friends," and their coming together "is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the

political history of the world." Citing his Mexican policy, the President affirms that "we have been put to the test in the case of Mexico, and we have stood the test."

NATIONAL DEFENSE. Militaristic aims are denied in the President's declaration that "we shall always see to it that our military peace establishment is no larger than is actually and continuously needed for the uses of days in which no enemies move against us." But, he adds, "we do believe in a body of free citizens ready and sufficient to take care of themselves



A TICKLISH MOMENT.

—Darling in the *Des Moines Register and Leader*.

and of the governments which they have set up to serve them." The Army program, as already made public by Secretary Garrison, contemplates increasing the standing army from its present strength of about 108,000 of all ranks to a total of about 142,000, "by the addition of 52 companies of coast-artillery, 15 companies of engineers, 10 regiments of infantry, 4 regiments of field-artillery, and 4 aero squadrons, besides more than 1,500 officers and non-commissioned officers for extra service." Such would be the peace-footing. But to be ready for exigencies, he would supplement this army "by a force of 400,000 disciplined citizens, raised in increments of 133,000 a year throughout a period of three years," the time devoted to their training "not necessarily to exceed two months in the year."

Turning to the Navy, as "our first and chief line of defense," he indorses Secretary Daniels's program, which "contemplates the construction within five years of 10 battle-ships, 6 battle-cruisers, 10 scout-cruisers, 50 destroyers, 15 fleet submarines, 85 coast submarines, 4 gunboats, 2 ammunition-ships, 2 oil-fuel ships, 1 repair-ship, and 1 hospital-ship, and the addition of 11,500 men to the personnel. If this full program should be carried out, says the President, "we should have built or building in 1921 an effective navy consisting of 27 battle-ships of the first line, 6 battle-cruisers, 25 battle-ships of the second line, 10 armored cruisers, 13 scout-cruisers, 5 first-class cruisers, 3 second-class cruisers, 10 third-class cruisers, 108 destroyers, 18 fleet submarines, 157 coast submarines, 6 monitors, 20 gunboats, 4 supply-ships, 15 fuel-ships, 4 transports, 3 tenders to torpedo-vessels, 8 vessels of special types, and 2 ammunition-ships"—"a navy fitted to our needs and worthy of our traditions."

A MERCHANT MARINE. Calling attention to the scarcity of American ships to carry American goods, he advocates legislation permitting the Government to purchase ships for this use, in order that the present great opportunity for the future advantage of American capital may not be lost. Of the importance of this matter he says:

"It is a question of independence. If other nations go to war or seek to hamper each other's commerce, our merchants,

it seems, are at their mercy, to do with as they please. We must use their ships, and use them as they determine. We have not ships enough of our own. We can not handle our own commerce on the seas. Our independence is provincial, and is only on land and within our own borders. . . . Such a situation is not to be endured."

To meet this emergency, he says, not only must private capital be given every encouragement to revive our merchant marine, but something must be done at once by the Government also.

FINANCING PREPAREDNESS. To avoid a threatened Treasury deficit and to meet the cost of the proposed additions to the Army and Navy, which will amount to \$112,000,000 in 1917, he recommends the extension of the Emergency Revenue Act, which expires December 31, 1915; the retention of sugar on the dutiable list after May 1, 1916; the extension of the income tax to smaller incomes, and the application of the surtax; a tax of one cent a gallon on gasoline; a tax of fifty cents per horsepower on automobiles and internal-explosion engines; a tax of twenty-five cents a ton on pig iron and on fabricated iron and steel; and a stamp-tax on bank-checks. He opposes raising this money by bond issues, which he thinks unfair to future generations.

DISLOYALTY OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS. "The gravest threats against our national peace and safety," declares the President, "have been uttered within our own borders" by certain naturalized citizens who "have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life," and have sought "to bring the authority of our Government into contempt," "to destroy our industries," and "to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue." This "ugly and incredible thing" has come about, and "we are without Federal laws to deal with it." He therefore urges Congress to enact such laws "at the earliest possible moment." For while these "creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy" are not many, they are "infinitely malignant," and "the hand of our power should close over them at once."

MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES. Another essential factor in national preparedness, he points out, is "the creation of the right instrumentalities by which to mobilize our economic resources in any time of national necessity." To this end he suggests a civilian advisory board of experts on transportation and industry to cooperate with the military authorities; "Federal aid and stimulation to industrial and vocational training"; laws to conserve yet make available our natural resources; and an early provision for rural credits.

THE RAILROAD PROBLEM. Noting that "the transportation problem is an exceedingly serious and pressing one in this country," and that there has been reason to fear of late "that our railroads would not much longer be able to cope with it successfully, as at present equipped and coordinated," he suggests "a commission of inquiry to ascertain whether our laws are as serviceable as they might be in the solution of the problem."

TWO CAPTAINS WHO DEPART

THE CELEBRATED FAILURE of Dr. Fell to find out why he was disliked is now paralleled by the case of the two German diplomatic attachés whose recall has been requested by our Government, so the *St. Louis Republic* observes. It is "on account of what this Government considers their improper activities in military and naval matters" that Captain von Papen and Captain Boy-Ed "are no longer acceptable to this Government," as Secretary Lansing puts it. But subsequent demands from Berlin for detailed explanations were met, says the Washington correspondents, by a courteous but firm insistence upon the Dr. Fell principle. Diplomatic usage does not require the filing of a bill of particulars when a member of a foreign legation ceases to be a pleasing person, and in this case, the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* adds, it may be "much better not to make any specific allegations." But our editors seem to feel no such punctilious reserve as restrains Secretary Lansing, and they are confident that the Government's reasons are perfectly valid. "Proofs of pernicious activity have in part been made public and others are in the hands of the State Department," says the *New York Times*, "ample in volume and in character to justify the action now taken." The request for the recall of the German captains seems to the *Brooklyn Eagle* the most important step taken by the Administration since the "strict-accountability" note; "it is more important and significant than the enforced recall of Dr. Dumba, because it strikes directly at the heart of a criminal conspiracy of which the inspiration comes from Berlin, and in which the part played by the former Austrian Ambassador was merely secondary." As *The Eagle* is assured—

"The Government at Washington has established, to its own satisfaction, that Captain von Papen, the military attaché of the German Embassy, misused the privileges of an American passport to send code messages to the War Office in Berlin. It has established to its own satisfaction that Captain Boy-Ed, the naval attaché of the Embassy, had part in the plot to embarrass the United States by encouraging a new insurrection in Mexico, under the lead of Victoriano Huerta, and that he also aided in providing German spies with forged American passports."

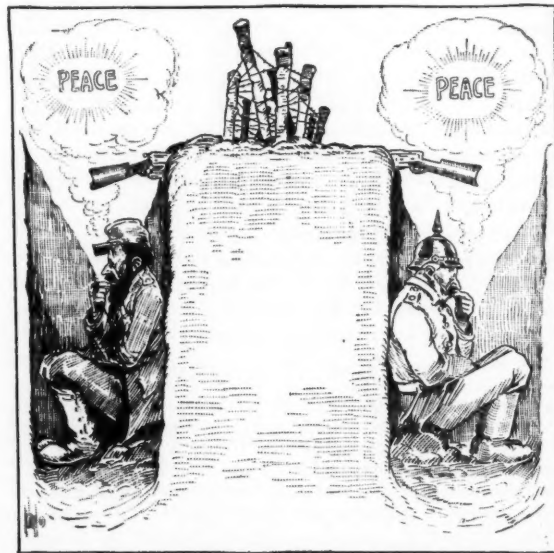
This "policy of interference with American interests," according to the almost equally anti-Teutonic and anti-Administration *New York Tribune*, has been based—

"on the notion, exploited even before the war by General



ACCIDENTAL?

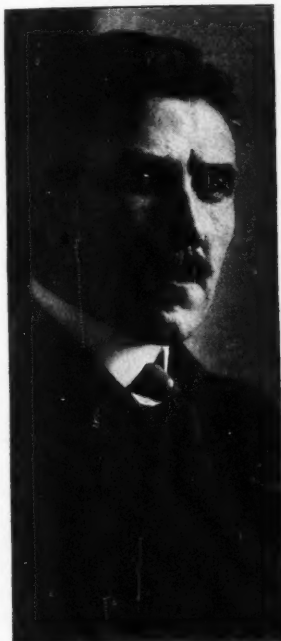
—Tuthill in the *St. Louis Star*.



THEY ARE AT LEAST THINKING ABOUT IT.

—Ireland in the *Columbus Dispatch*.

IN TIME OF WAR PREPARE FOR PEACE.



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CAPTAIN FRANZ VON PAPEN,
Late German Military Attaché
at Washington.

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HITTING THE TRAIL.

—Cassel in the New York Evening World.



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CAPTAIN KARL BOY-ED,
Late German Naval Attaché
at Washington.

von Bernhardt, that the political influence of Americans of German descent would be powerful enough to compel the American Government to wink at German aggressions. There was some excuse for this theory, since the German Government's experience with an Administration which had intimidated both publicly and privately that it was 'too proud to fight,' and which had let reparation for the *Lusitania* murders wait for more than seven months, undoubtedly contributed to Berlin's belief that German conspiracies here would not be inquired into with inconvenient diligence.

"But at last we have reached the point at which patience has ceased to appeal even to a weak-kneed and phrase-loving Administration."

President Wilson and his advisers, as the *Washington Herald* thinks, "will be given faint praise for the tardy performance of an obvious and inevitable duty." In the long run, it says,

"Germany will be the loser as a result of the violations of our neutrality through her accredited representatives. . . . With the unlamented Dr. Dumba's post still vacant, the diplomatic representation of the Teutonic allies here will present a sorry contrast with that of their enemies, which has remained intact since the war began.

"Without considering any other circumstance, this very comparison of the records of the nations on either side in the war in their dealings with this country suggests one overshadowing reason why the American people can not be neutral. On the one side, their rights have been scrupulously regarded; on the other, they have been ruthlessly trampled upon or secretly plotted against to a point where our Government has been forced to take tardy and what appears to be reluctant action.

"Our relations with Germany and Austria-Hungary must become less cordial as the result of the expulsion of Boy-Ed and von Papen; but the fault is in no measure ours."

Yet it seems to the *New York World* that there is an important service that "Captain von Papen and Captain Boy-Ed can render to Germany in respect to German relations with the United States":

"When they return to Berlin they can inform their Government that American resentment against the German propaganda in the United States is steadily increasing and that a continuation of the conspiracy will soon make friendly relations between the two countries all but impossible.

"They can tell Berlin too that the American people are not frightened by threats of a hyphenated revolution; that the American Government can not be coerced by pro-German threats, and that the German campaign in the United States has been one of the gravest of the many grave blunders of which German diplomacy is guilty. It has not only failed completely, but it has produced an effect diametrically opposite to the effect it was expected to produce.

"If the two attachés can convince the German Government that the money it has spent in the United States in suborning perjury, in capitalizing conspiracies against our domestic welfare, in buying anarchy south of the Rio Grande, and in subsidizing sedition on American soil has all been worse than wasted, they may perhaps do more for the Fatherland than any other two men have yet done on the battle-line."

The belief that the Government has had on hand for months information warranting a request for the recall of the German attachés leads the Washington correspondent of the *New York Sun* to suggest two explanations for the delay, one being that the *Lusitania* negotiations had reached a hopeless deadlock, thus removing one necessity for caution, the other that the Administration had decided to begin a vigorous campaign against "all activities of a hyphenated character." Still another suggestion appearing in the editorial columns of several newspapers is that the dismissal was not effected earlier because of the fear of a prejudicial effect upon the trial of the Hamburg-American officials in New York. Considering these things, and the necessity of getting together "overwhelming and altogether convincing" evidence, the *New York Evening Post* holds the Government quite justified in waiting as long as it did; and this, it thinks, "will be the opinion of the country."

Tho the German attachés "mocked the neutrality of the country that had received them as its guests," they "are not personally to be blamed," the *Springfield Republican* tells us. For—

"They have done their duty, as they were taught it at home. Military and naval attachés in all capitals have for many years been recognized as high-class spies for their Governments, in time of peace; the Dreyfus scandal in France was a revelation of that truth fifteen years ago. In time of war, the attachés

inevitably go to the limit in waging a near-war for their respective Governments in neutral jurisdictions."

From our neutral standpoint, remarks the Grand Rapids Press, "von Papen and Boy-Ed erred: from the German standpoint they did magnificently." And it adds:

"Deeper than statutes runs the law of the tribe, which in extremity recognizes no law but tribal welfare and demands that individuals sacrifice themselves in the interests of the whole blood-brotherhood. Some day we may have our Boy-Eds and be proud of them."

In our resentment against Germany's agents here let us not lose our sense of proportion, is the Chicago Tribune's caution. Because of Britain's preponderant Navy the products of our inflated war-industries are safely delivered to the Allies. "If Germans, despairing of interrupting this activity, which may prove to be the essential of their failure, turn to desperate methods in the United States, we shall have to punish the offenders when they are found, but," says *The Tribune*, "for us to adopt a moral tone would be ludicrous."

While the German-American papers admit the Government's right to dismiss undesirable representatives of foreign countries, the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* says that Boy-Ed and von Papen "have been hounded so long by the British diplomatic representative in this country and by the pro-Allies press, in connection with arson plots and propaganda, that to decline to make public the reason underlying in the Administration's mind the request for their recall is to cast upon them and upon their Governments an ineradicable stigma. . . ."

"The people of this country have a right to know the facts."

Other German-Americans look upon the action against the two attachés as a sign that the Administration, in the words of the St. Louis *Amerika*, "is ever straying further from its vaunted neutrality and becoming daily more subservient to England." "Protests have been made against the trade in munitions, against the recruiting of troops in the United States for the Allies, but," asks the Detroit *Abend Post*, "has the Government ever given ear to these?" Boy-Ed and von Papen, it concludes, "must go because their service has become unpleasant to the gentlemen in Washington who represent England so well." And the New York German *Herold* says bitterly:

"Just because in former years, when modern manufacturing-methods were unknown, international law permitted a neutral to sell arms and ammunition to whoever could pay for them, these United States have been transformed into a base for the Allies. . . ."

"English officers are here by the dozen, supervising the manufacture of arms and ammunition to be used against Germany. That is legal. German officers attempt to protect Germany. That is illegal. Ethics and motives, or the essence of things, do not count. Observe the forms and you are safe."

But to the New York Times, any German-American defense or extenuation of the "offenses" of Boy-Ed and von Papen seems incomprehensible. And the wide-spread satisfaction with the Government's action is shown by the approving editorials in such representative papers, besides those already quoted, as the Boston Transcript and Herald, New York Commercial, Pittsburg Dispatch, Washington Times, Indianapolis News, Louisville Courier-Journal, Nashville Tennessean, Chicago Herald, St. Louis Republic and Globe Democrat, St. Joseph News-Press, Minneapolis Tribune, and Sioux City Tribune.

Several editors remind us that there is another and much more important issue with Germany. "Boy-Ed and von Papen will go and will soon be forgotten," says the New York World, "but the Lusitania case will continue as an irremovable menace so long as Germany fails to make suitable amends." The present vigorous policy may make its impression, however, and the New York Tribune thinks that "when Berlin discovers that the United States means business it may begin to think seriously of making atonement for the Lusitania horror."

THE EASTERN FREIGHT-FLOOD

UNPRECEDENTED FREIGHT-CONGESTION on Eastern railroads proves to the New York Commercial, as it does to others, that "the country is simply swamped with real wealth." But, the St. Louis Globe Democrat remarks, this is "a kind of prosperity that is very expensive to the railroads." Such "overwhelming prosperity," the New York Times similarly points out, "is an embarrassment both to railroads and their customers." So that it has become necessary, as *The Times* puts it, "to shrink trade down to the capacity of the railroads." Eastern railroads, particularly those running eastward to New York, have been swamped with freight, mostly for export, for over a month. The New York Journal of Commerce reported an estimate at the beginning of December of 50,000 freight-cars waiting in or near the New York terminals for unloading. A few days ago it was reported in the New York papers that the New York Central and the Pennsylvania each had 10,000 cars waiting near New York; that the Erie had freight-cars standing as far back as Corning, nearly 300 miles from the seaboard; and that the Lackawanna had 6,000 loaded cars tied up between New York and Scranton, Pa. To take the one item of wheat, the New York Journal of Commerce notes that "10,000,000 bushels of Canadian wheat alone are now on freight-cars consigned to United States ports," as compared with a total of "only 2,300,000 bushels on cars at this time last year." This condition is attributed by various observers to the enormous growth of our export trade to Europe, the lack of shipping, poor terminal facilities, and the lack of equipment and "preparedness" on the part of the railroads.

But railroad officials are more interested in relief than diagnosis. The best railroad talent is at work on the problem. Committees have met, Governmental authorities have been consulted, shippers have been warned and advised. But ships, freight-cars, improved terminals, and storage facilities can not be built in a day. So the most obvious remedy was to "dam the flowing tide" of freight. And the Lackawanna has thus stopt shipments of all freight for export through New York; while the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore & Ohio have placed embargoes on certain classes of export freight.

The trouble is due primarily, says Chairman C. C. McCain, of the Trunk Line Association, "to the abnormal quantity of traffic now offered for export and the inability for its prompt clearance by vessels owing to insufficient ocean service." But steamship men are said to object to such explanations, and to blame the railroads. "The real difficulty," said one shipping agent, quoted in the New York Herald, "is that the railroads can not, because of the lack of proper terminal facilities, deliver freight to the steamships." And the New York Times also emphasizes railroad incapacity, remarking:

"Already the volume of shipping is sufficient to cause even greater congestion abroad than here. It is almost a rule to empty and load again for a return cargo here within a week. Abroad it takes a month to 'turn' a ship back for another cargo. It might almost be said that if there were a reduction of shipping there would be such a hastening of the handling of traffic abroad that more could be carried."

Other metropolitan observers find the real trouble in lack of preparedness, not so much with regard to railroads or shipping, as to port facilities. New York City, says *The Commercial*, "did not prepare in time to handle additional foreign trade. Vessels . . . that are available are delayed in loading by inadequate facilities. A ship often has to be towed from pier to pier when loading, and many load from lighters while at anchor in the bay." And *The World* complains of "costly and antiquated port conveniences that keep both car and ship waiting"—

"If we had railroad docks as modern as Buenos Aires, Antwerp, or Galveston, shippers could snap their fingers at fog-delays in lightering, and cargo-carriers could make more round trips in a year."

CHICAGO'S QUEST OF "UNION GRAFT"

ALL CHICAGO IS DIVIDED into nine parts for purposes of blackmail by certain labor-unions, reports *The Tribune* of that city in its consideration of the indictment of forty-six union-labor men, three plate-glass dealers, one dealer in electrical supplies, two saloon-keepers, and two bartenders, for conspiracy and extortion. Over each of the nine districts presides "a czar whose authority is absolute," we are told, and "the amount of illegal tribute collected in the last few years by the sluggers and gunmen of these criminal overlords of the city is said to be close to half a million dollars." It has been an open secret for years, says Mr. E. M. Craig, secretary of the Building Construction Employers' Association, "the largest group of builders in the world," that this industry in Chicago has had to pay "from 5 to 8 per cent. graft to gangs of crooks who libeled union labor by calling themselves union business agents." This statement is made in the *Chicago Herald*, which began more than a year ago the exposure of local labor graft. Mr. Craig is further quoted as saying:

"These gangs have used pistols, clubs, stones, slingshots, fire, fists, and dynamite to destroy human life, property, and homes in their efforts to collect tribute or terrify contractors.

"Realizing the harm this sort of tactics brought to the movement, the great majority of union men have set themselves against it."

On the other hand, Mr. Frank Comerford, who may be chief counsel for the labor men, according to *The Herald*, is reported by that journal as calling the indictment of the men "a determined assault launched by the powerful ring of building-contractors of Chicago to crush labor-unions in the building-trades." The men singled out for prosecution, he adds, are of "proved loyalty to the cause of organized labor," and this attack is the most serious blow ever aimed at labor in the United States. Throughout the nation labor will watch for the outcome, Mr. Comerford says then, and he makes the prediction that before the cases are concluded "the real conspiracy will be established and it will be found to be a program on the part of the organized employers to smother trade-unionism." As against this view of it, *The Herald* reminds us that while the defendants will have every legal safeguard, they can not command "the privilege of associating union labor with them in the box as a defendant." This journal says, too, that of all the sufferers from graft and extortion of so-called "labor representatives," union labor is the greatest; and that it may be taken for granted every decent union man realizes this fact clearly. Consequently union labor has "a special interest in the punishment of any fraud and corruption on the part of its representatives."

POINTS OF FRICTION WITH JAPAN

TWO POINTS of possible friction between Japan and America are discerned by a visitor to our shores who is in a position to know what he is talking about. The man who made Japan modern, as Baron Shibusawa is described by the *New York Sun*, and who is colloquially known as the "Morgan of Nippon," is now here trying to foster a surer friendship between his country and the United States. "There are very few countries which Heaven seems to have ordained to be friends like America and Japan," he tells a Japanese writer

for the *New York World*, "because one is so largely dependent on the other." To be sure, Japan is much the more dependent, headmits. The United States is Japan's best customer for its chief article of export, which is silk, and the United States is at the same time Japan's supply-store for the raw material of its second important export, which is cotton-goods for China. Now, just because "there seems to be a little friction somewhere," the Baron goes on to say, "are we going to talk about fight?" But as we are not living in "a paradise of perfection," friction is apt to occur, and while "the troubles our people have out in California may seem rather irritating to either party . . . in my judgment all that is needed there is mutual concession and a measure of patience on the part of both." As for his countrymen, the Baron is reported in the press as saying at one of the numerous entertainments given in his honor while in New York, that they are "willing and ready" to meet Americans half-way. He says:

"There prevails a certain misconception which confuses the question of the treatment

of the Japanese in California with the question of Japanese immigration. The two questions are distinct. That relating to immigration is settled by a gentlemen's agreement between Japan and the United States, and, as you all know, Japan has adhered to that agreement. No fresh emigration to America has been allowed. That restriction of emigration was not pleasant to the Japanese people, but as the Government has pledged the honor of the country, the people are now willing to abide by the terms of the agreement, and, therefore, there is no complaint as to the restriction or prohibition of Japanese immigration into America. That question is out of consideration as long as the agreement is in force.

"The only question before us now is that of the treatment of Japanese already legally residing in California. We object to the discriminating treatment resulting from the land legislation in California. The question of this treatment is the only one presenting any difficulty, and it is a question well worth the calm and wise consideration of both nations concerned."

Baron Shibusawa is further reported as saying that another question to arise at the end of the war concerns the rivalry of America and Japan in trading with China. He wonders whether the commercial competition is to be hostile or friendly, and adds:

"Hostile rivalry will be fatal, and there is no reason why it



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"HEAVEN SEEMS TO HAVE ORDAINED JAPAN AND AMERICA TO BE FRIENDS."

And Baron Shibusawa, Japan's greatest financier, here shown with his wife, is now in this country trying to promote a better understanding between the two nations that face each other across the Pacific.

should come. The two nations of Japan and the United States are so situated that we should be able to work together for each other's benefit. Japan is near China, and we understand the Chinese better than you—or think we do. We have trained many skilled mechanics and foremen who are valuable in China. You can not be sure that mechanics and foremen from America would get along with Chinese workmen, and besides it would be expensive to put them in China, whereas ours can go there at little expense.

"America, on the other hand, has capital, experience, and energy, which, with our two advantages, should make our two countries able to cooperate successfully against the competition of the world. I see profitable fields for both nations in China. I see an opportunity to bring two types of civilization so close together that nothing will be able to disturb their relations."

Viscount Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador, is reported as saying that "the attitude of the United States toward Japan, compared to what it was several years ago, is considerably gratifying, but there is no denying that there is much to be improved." Moreover, in the Ambassador's view there are "many small things outside the California situation likely to create other than friendly feeling," and he is quoted as adding:

"How little is known here in America of Japan! If America had half as much knowledge of Japan as Japan has of America I am sure there would be an entirely different attitude. It is because of lack of information that yellow stories are circulated in this country, and it is these that are also responsible for an anti-Japanese sentiment in certain sections of this country."

The Baron was advised by *The Japanese-American Commercial Weekly* when he landed to talk with Americans who distrust Japan because the Japanese in this country can not be content with "mere exchange of honeyed euphemism," and in the

Chicago *Tribune's* opinion this is "the soundest sense that has been written about the relations between Japan and the United States." The advice is as pertinent to Americans as to the Baron, furthermore, and "unless he is the Henry Ford of Japan he will listen to it."

If the optimists believe the Japanese are saints, *The Tribune* goes on to say, the skeptics are inclined to believe them devils; but of course they are neither. Only two theories seem to be held in this country about Japan—one, that it was a case of love at first sight, and that we are unchristian not to return their love; the other, that our only safety lies in the immediate mobilization of a large army along the Pacific Coast. We read then:

"We fear Japan only because we do not know what Japan intends. Their Government could pick a quarrel with us at any moment over the land legislation. It is still an open sore, or one which will open again easily. It may bring war. It might easily develop into a justifiable excuse. The best preparation we can make against Japan is to be intelligent about her. We do not understand her now. We will never understand her by telling her how much we love her."

Professor Tatebe, of the Tokyo Imperial University, is quoted as saying that under the American standard of living more than 2,000,000,000 persons can exist on the earth, but according to the Japanese standard more than 22,000,000,000. The question, then, is not racial but economic, and the Chicago paper concludes that "the gulf between the peoples is not one between yellow and white, but between the way we and they can live with self-respect."

TOPICS IN BRIEF

WE suppose the Ford critics never spent any of their money foolishly.—*Columbia State*.

TOTAL Bulgarian captures of Serbian troops make the last Serbian census return look suspicious.—*Wall Street Journal*.

PERHAPS another sign of peace appears in the willingness of both armies on the Western front to let the artillery do it.—*Boston Herald*.

FRANCE forbids the export of nuts. We show a welcome disposition to encourage it.—*Wall Street Journal*.

CONSIDERING the mission of the *Oscar II.* won't the Pacific Ocean feel slighted?—*Washington Post*.

SOME people claim that Ford's peace program is doomed to failure, but wiser ones expect to see the sales doubled next year.—*Boston Transcript*.

THE Belgians continue to pay striking tributes to their German rulers. The total is now said to be about \$100,000,000.—*Chicago Herald*.

LET us hope that when they settle the war and return to New York they will be able to pass the mental tests usually required at Ellis Island.—*Boston Transcript*.

THE San Francisco Fair closed with a surplus, which is more than some of those who visited it had when they got back home.—*Philadelphia Evening Ledger*.

WELL, maybe there isn't anything suspicious about a powder-factory blowing up, but how about that asbestos-factory that burned down the other day?—*Boston Transcript*.

GERMANY is soon to float another war-loan, this one for \$2,500,000,000. Her chemists must have learned how to make synthetic money as well as synthetic food.—*New York Evening Sun*.

THERE are more than 250,000 corporations in this country, according to figures compiled by the Federal Trade Commission, of which more than 100,000 have no income whatever. Those must be the good corporations.—*New York Tribune*.

AFTER scanning the names of the Peace Voyagers we advise Europe to put up its windshield.—*New York Mail*.

THE reason for Woodrow Wilson's success is now disclosed: He was once a managing editor.—*Philadelphia Evening Ledger*.

THE ease with which European nations dispose of Cabinet Ministers must excite the envy of every American.—*New York Tribune*.

WILL our House and Senate be known as the Sixty-fourth or the Safety-first Congress?—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

GENERAL VON BISSING has been made a doctor of laws, probably military laws.—*Philadelphia Record*.

WITH sugar 10 cents a pound, it will not be any easier for Colonel Roosevelt to get that third cup of coffee.—*Philadelphia Evening Ledger*.

As a thorough neutral, King Alfonso must be getting considerable quiet amusement out of the present Philippine controversy.—*Washington Post*.

IT will be suspected that tucked away somewhere among Ford's peace-promoters will be that fellow who went to the funeral just for the ride.—*Boston Transcript*.

BERLIN hears that 23,000,000 Mohammedans in India favor joining Turkey in the war, which shows what wireless telephony is doing already.—*Wall Street Journal*.

THE *Washington Post* has courageously essayed a most difficult task. It is trying to convince the public that a tax on automobile gasoline would be "a tax on the poor."—*Chicago Herald*.

"WHEN international crimes such as those on Belgium and Armenia are committed."—*Theodore Roosevelt*. Neither of these countries will ever be traversed by an interoceanic canal.—*New York Evening Post*.

THE *Fatherland* says that the accidents in American munitions-factories have been acts of God. At any rate, there has been a growing suspicion that some of the Kaiser's adherents were responsible for them.—*Nashville Southern Lumberman*.



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IF THE TRULY NEUTRAL SHOULD PARADE.

—Brinkerhoff in the *New York Evening Mail*.

FOREIGN - COMMENT

REVOLTS IN INDIA

DESPITE OFFICIAL DENIALS both in India and England, it must be said that the court records and Governmental proclamations published in the peninsula lend color to the reports of serious uprisings in Hindustan, as published in the German press. How large a percentage of the population is in sympathy with any attempt to shake off the rule of the British is somewhat a moot point, for authorities, apparently equally competent, disagree. For instance, Rustom Rustomjee, the editor of the *Bombay Oriental Review*, a man of great culture and wide information, asserts in a most unequivocal manner that 97 per cent. of the population in India is perfectly contented under the British *raj*, and, while he does not deny that a strong nationalistic tendency is prevalent among the remaining 3 per cent., he considers that actual revolutionary propaganda is confined to an insignificant handful without authority or influence. On the other side, we find that Ramchandra, the exiled leader of the radical party, is convinced that India is "throbbing with revolution." His organ, the *San Francisco Gadar*, is considered by the British Government to be responsible for the revolutionary outbreaks which are now admittedly troubling official India, and his words must be read with this point in mind. Ramchandra's announcement runs:

"The statement of Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, denying revolutionary unrest in India, is utterly false. The British Government has proclaimed martial law and instituted special tribunals, before which trials are held in camera and appeals denied. This year some two hundred revolutionists have been hanged and shot at Lahore, Ambala, Meerut, Delhi, Calcutta, Orissa, etc. Five hundred have been transported for life, and five thousand interned without trial, including professors, physicians, priests, editors, social reformers, students, peasants, laborers, soldiers.

"Scores of newspapers have been suppressed and the presses confiscated, and hundreds have been heavily fined. All this is apart from the Singapore, Bajbaj, Burma, and Afghan uprisings. I dare Chamberlain to challenge these facts."

In view of these discordant statements, the recent sentences on the conspirators tried at Lahore take on a certain significance. From the *Calcutta Statesman* we learn that over eight hundred persons have been punished in various degrees for the revolt in the Punjab, and the Lieutenant-Governor of that province has thought it well to make an authoritative statement emphasizing the "seriousness and magnitude" of these "conspiracies and acts of lawlessness." From the text of an official communication issued from Simla we learn that this official considers—

"It is hardly necessary to add that these crimes, committed

all over the Central Punjab from November, 1914, to July, 1915, and not yet ceased, created a state not only of alarm and insecurity, but in some cases of terror and even panic, and if they had not been promptly checked by the firm hand of authority and active cooperation of the people, it would have produced in the Province, as was intended by the conspirators, a state of affairs similar to that of the Hindustan in the Mutiny of 1857, a paralysis of authority, wide-spread terrorism, mutiny of the troops, wholesale robbery and murder, not only of the officers of Government, but of loyal and well-disposed subjects.

"The comparison has been made between the revolutionary leaders in the Punjab and the Boer rebel De Wet. I have no sympathy with De Wet. He was a rebel and a traitor, but one should be just even to a traitor, and it would be unjust to place him in the same category as the men whose aims and actions I have described to you. De Wet and his adherents took the field openly as rebels. They carried their lives in their hands and many of them paid the forfeit. Revolution was their end, but wholesale murder, robbery, and terrorism were not among their methods, nor was the bomb among their methods."

Further details of just what the conspirators did are trenchantly summed up in the following sentence extracted from the judgment delivered by the Special Commissioners who tried the accused:

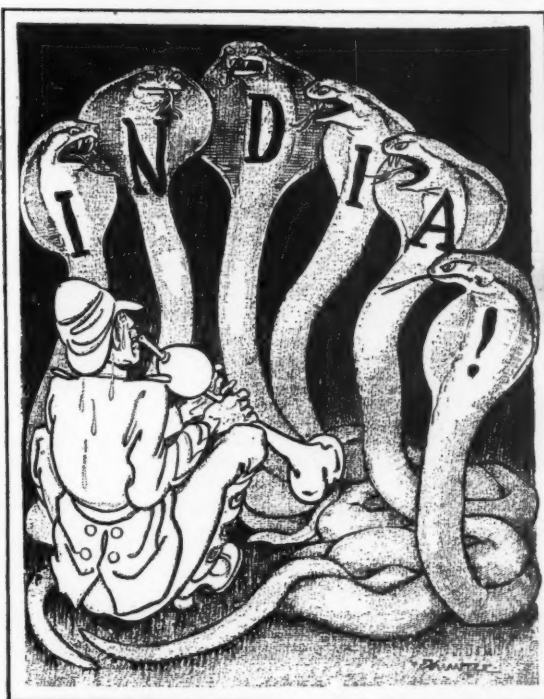
"They commenced in July and August a series of acts which we have considered in detail, such as dacoities, seduction of troops, villagers, and students, the manufacture and collection of arms and bombs, projected and accomplished attacks on railways, bridges, forts, arsenals, and general communications, and finally projected a general rising which

was to be the culminating act of the war."

This judgment relates to 61 persons, only four of whom were acquitted, while 24 were condemned to death, 27 were sent to spend the rest of their lives in the convict colony at the Andaman Islands, and six were given varying terms of imprisonment. As the result of other trials, some 800 persons "concerned in the dacoities (highway robberies) have received exemplary punishments from the courts," to quote the exact words used by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, as set down in the *communiqué* referred to above. The head of the Province of the Punjab gave the following particulars of punishments given to others:

"Executive action has been taken against native Government officials . . . who failed in their duty. A strong force of punitive police has just been imposed on the localities affected at the cost of those responsible for the disorder, and the latest reports, official and non-official, show that the people are settling down to normal conditions."

As is to be expected, the British in India consider that the Government deserves strong commendation for the vigorous



THE SNAKE-CHARMER.

THE ENGLISHMAN: "I'm afraid the old charm won't work."

—© Ull (Berlin).

action taken in dealing with these revolts. The *Bombay Times of India* gives typical expression to these views when dealing with the statement of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. It says:

"It was time that some one with a knowledge of all the facts in the case should cool the ardor of those who have asked for lenience toward these criminals. . . . When we first commented on the judgment in the Lahore case, we said that it would be sheer hypocrisy to pretend that any sympathy can be felt for the grown men who aimed at massacre. We see no reason to alter that opinion, tho various papers have found their sympathies aroused to plead for lenience toward these creatures. A condemnation of the theory of anarchy coupled with the suggestion that its practitioners should be treated gently is a topsy-turvy form of humanitarianism that can not wisely be advanced in India or any other country."

The views that the natives themselves take of these trials are somewhat divergent. Perhaps the most representative comment is the following, culled from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta):

"What makes the Lahore conspiracy trial ever-memorable is the unparalleled severity of the sentences. But was there any necessity for the Special Tribunal to direct that two dozen God's creatures should be hanged by the neck till they were dead when law permitted it to pass a less shocking sentence on them? Besides, they acted more like madmen than criminals. Fancy the ridiculous nature of their idea of overturning the powerful British Government in India by throwing a few bombs and firing a few revolvers! They should have been treated as insane people, who are never hanged, but confined in an asylum. The conspiracy was childish from the beginning to the end, and, as the *Lahore Tribune* points out, it sinks into utter significance before the formidable active rebellion in South Africa, where, as far as we remember, no revolutionist was capitally sentenced, or transported for life, or even got more than a few years' imprisonment."

"It should also be remembered that the vast majority of the accused were mere tools in the hands of a few ringleaders; and then, again, under the present conspiracy law, even an innocent man who may have simply talked to a conspirator may be included in the list of the accused. Besides, the prisoners were deprived of many of the facilities allowed to an ordinary criminal to establish his innocence. Considering all these circumstances, we think the capital sentence was absolutely uncalled for, and it has naturally created a most painful feeling all over India. The beautiful maxim in English jurisprudence is that a judicial tribunal should not only administer justice according to law, but administer it in such a way as to carry the general public with it. We regret the Lahore Special Tribunal clean forgot this maxim when dealing with the accused. We trust that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab or the Viceroy will be pleased to take a more lenient view of the matter and commute the death-sentences to transportation for life in deference to strong public opinion on the subject."

From the *Amritsar Khalsa Advocate*, a Sikh organ, we learn that all appeals for clemency have been rejected, except in the case of one, Kala Singh, whose sentence has been commuted "from death to transportation for life." Notwithstanding some indignation at the severity of the Government, the great Moslem festival of Muharram has passed off in perfect quiet. This festival, says the *London Times*, is always a time of anxiety to the officials and often the occasion of serious riots.

GERMANY'S MYSTERIOUS PEACE-HINTS

A STEADY, PERSISTENT PROPAGANDA for peace seems now to be established in Germany. How or by whom it is organized is difficult to discover, but as papers of all classes keep on issuing articles upon peace it would seem that some considerable backing of popular sentiment is behind the movement. A suspicion has been expressed in England that Germany is sending out these peace-hints to sow dissension among the Allies and induce some one of them to sheathe the sword. But most of the British papers regard them as signals

of distress. In this connection a curious prophecy which comes from the Lausanne correspondent of the *London Times* acquires a certain interest, as it may in part explain some of the forces which are at work in the German peace-movement, tho the natural desire of the correspondent to send acceptable dispatches must not be lost to view. The *Times* correspondent claims to have received "certain information from Berlin" which, he says, casts a light upon the presence in Switzerland of Germany's most able diplomat, Prince von Bülow, and he next proceeds to prophesy regarding the immediate future:

"The Germans believe that up to the end of this year the general position will remain in their favor, but only until then. After that, they realize, their strength will decline, and that of the Allies increase. Therefore, in January they propose to make a desperate offensive attack on the Western front. Incidentally, they say that in French offensive the 75s proved a failure for destroying trenches and barbed-wire entanglements. They intend, therefore, to conduct a preliminary bombardment of the Allies' positions with guns of much heavier caliber. To this end I am assured that the Krupp works at the present moment are working under extraordinary pressure to provide the necessary material."

We are then told what will happen in the event that this "Great Drive" fails to effect a decision:

"And supposing, as they themselves more than half fear, that this attack fails, then they have another card to play, and one of the two persons to be used in the game is the Pope. The other is, of course, President Wilson. They are to be invited by the Germans to initiate proceedings for a proclamation of peace."

"This is the explanation of von Bülow's recent visit to Switzerland, and his frequent negotiations there with the emissaries of the Vatican. It was von Bülow himself who coupled the Vatican with the United States as one of the greatest Powers independent of the world-struggle."

Considering the source and character of this dispatch, it would have a mere academic interest were it not for certain tendencies shown in the peace-articles in the German press. While the Social-Democratic organs are outspoken in their opinion that the need for peace is immediate, the more sober journals, tho less direct, are none the less willing to welcome the speedy advent of the dove. For example, the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, the staid organ of the academic Liberals, writes:

"Every serious plan for early peace will find us ready and eager to give it our instant consideration. Germany is prepared at a moment's notice to accept a peace that shall cor-



"PUSS! PUSS!"

"The United States must keep out of this war, not to avoid trouble, but to lay the foundations of future peace."—President Wilson.
—*Sydney Bulletin*.

respond—at least to some extent—with the enormous sacrifices the war has imposed on her. . . . It is impossible, however, to entertain ideas of peace unless our enemies do their part and are also ready for sacrifices. Let us assure them in a friendly manner that it is high time for them to abandon their threats of destroying the German nation, threats which are mere verbiage. Let them listen to the voice of reason now, as we are ready to do."

Among the more outspoken Social Democrats the cost of living is urged as demanding an immediate peace. The Berlin *Vorwärts* says:

"The real cause of the high cost of living is the long duration of the war. Every successive week renders the economic situation of the poorer classes more intolerable. The best safeguard against future increases in price would be the speedy termination of the war.

"We rely upon the leaders of our party to multiply their efforts and to see that everything in their power is done to end the conflict. . . . If the party enters resolutely upon this road it will attach to itself not only the masses of the people, but also all sections of the middle class, who are equally sick of the war."

Most significant, however, is the opinion of the *Berliner Volkszeitung*, which argues that if Germany does not now secure a favorable peace, it will be too late:

"It goes without saying that all the nations have an ardent desire for peace, the German nation included. If we had to deal only with France and England, it would not be impossible to arrive at means of mutual concessions and compensations and to conclude peace without the fear of future complications. However, we still have to reckon with Russia, who, notwithstanding the tremendous losses she has suffered, is recovering with stupefying rapidity. All the same, with the odds now in our favor, it is the duty of Germany to take advantage of a favorable situation to start *pourparlers* for an early peace. If she allows the present opportunity to pass, it will be too late."

If, as many English editors have hinted, the Pope's endeavors to bring about peace are due to German inspiration, then one striking passage in his allocution in the recent Consistory is

pregnant with significance and suggests that the Central Powers are ready to meet their opponents half-way. He said:

"Naturally, as in all human controversies which must be settled through the efforts of the contending parties themselves, it is absolutely necessary that concessions be made upon some point by both parties; that some of the hoped-for advantages must be renounced, and that each must make with good grace such concession, even at the cost of some sacrifice, so as not to assume before God and man the enormous responsibility for the continuation of this shedding of blood, of which history records no counterpart, and which, if prolonged further, might mean for Europe the beginning of decadence from the degree of prosperous civilization to which the Christian religion has raised her from nothing."

In striking contrast to the spirit of moderation urged by Benedict XV. are the peace-views of Mr. Albert Thomas, the French Under Secretary for War, who declares:

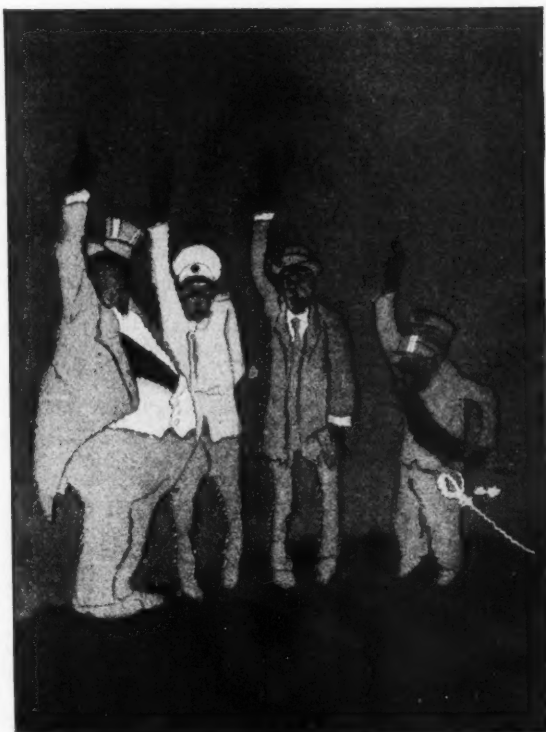
"There will be no peace until our Alsace and Lorraine are definitely reestablished as part of the French unity.

"There will be no peace until our unfortunate brothers of Belgium and Serbia are assured of recovering their homes in complete security and independence.

"There will be no peace until German imperialism and Prussian militarism are put beyond the possibility of resurrection.

"There will be no peace until a system of right, founded upon the victorious union of the Allies, and supported by the free adherence of neutrals, has abolished forever the violence of war."

Equally bellicose views were expressed by Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg in his great speech before the Reichstag at its reassembling. He tells us that Germany is "invincible and secure," and can therefore afford to wait until her enemies are prepared to submit "peace-proposals which are in consonance with Germany's dignity." He warns the Allies that Germany will exact harsher terms from them the more obstinately they persist in fighting; "the longer and bitterer they wage this war against us, the greater will be the necessary guaranties." He throws upon the Allies the entire responsibility for the further continuance of the war.



THE INTERNATIONAL TREMOLO QUARTET.

"We shall go on fighting till the final victory."

—Die Muskete (Vienna).



THE SKILFUL PILOT.

With steady hand John Bull steers the French ship to perdition.

—Der Brummer (Berlin).

TEUTONIC SATIRE ON THE ALLIES' PROSPECTS.

A WAR OF TENDENCIES

HOPEFUL PESSIMISM, tho a paradox, is perhaps the most apt description of the state of mind exhibited by the English press. They are compelled to admit that, as far as military success is concerned, the advantage, and a most substantial one, lies with the Germans, who have also scored an overwhelming diplomatic victory in the Balkans by securing the adhesion of Bulgaria and her very considerable military assistance. None the less the journals of the English capital, tho they recognize that the situation is one that can not inspire any very hopeful outlook, console themselves by saying that all the tendencies in the trend of the war operate in the Allies' favor. This attitude of mind is succinctly expressed by Mr. Winston Churchill in his speech in the House of Commons explaining his reasons for preferring the position of a soldier



TENDENCIES IN ENGLAND.

Trying to keep up with the newspaper-placards.

—London Opinion

in the trenches to that of a Cabinet Minister at home. Mr. Churchill remarked, as reported in the *London Times*:

"Sir, the old wars were decided by their episodes rather than by their tendencies. In this war the tendencies are far more important than the episodes. Without winning any sensational victories we may win this war. . . . While the German lines extend far beyond their frontiers, while their flag flies over conquered capitals and subjugated provinces, while all the appearances of military success attend their arms, Germany may be defeated more fatally in the second or third year of the war than if the Allied armies had entered Berlin in the first."

Most of the London editors have hailed this pronouncement as a flash of heaven-born inspiration, and derive great comfort from it; for example, *The New Statesman* whole-heartedly approves of this view, and says:

"This picture of defeat as a tendency, as a Nemesis which is creeping, necessarily slowly, upon Germany, is, we believe, far truer than the pictures offered us by those who fancy that if this or that policy had been adopted, or if this or that mistake had not been made, 'the war would have been over long ago.'"

One or two of the more thoughtful, however, are a little

pained at the frequency and magnitude of the "episodes" and point out that, even tho episodic, they can not be disregarded without serious danger to the ultimate cause of the Allies. This is particularly the case with regard to the Servian "episode," about which the *London Outlook* is much concerned. Its military expert writes:

"And I will concede this much to Mr. Churchill . . . that the tendencies of the moment are, on the whole, most favorable to the Allied arms. But having made this concession, I feel bound to add that what may strike us, in our insular immunity, as a merely unpleasant episode may strike the heroic but luckless Servians as something more than a national tragedy—a people's annihilation."

"As a matter of fact, from the standpoint of the Allies in general, and of the Western Allies in particular, the Servian 'episode' is, at any rate, a very sad and sorry one—if anything, rather worse than the Dardanelles 'episode' in the eyes of those who, while not underrating the naval and military attractions of Constantinople, have always held, and still hold, that the 'strategic nerve-center' of the war is somewhere in Germany, and that the road from Constantinople to Berlin might prove considerably longer than that from Verdun to Mainz."

"The Servian 'episode' is especially poignant and discreditable—I use the latter epithet with all due deliberation—because it can not be said to have been sprung upon us as a complete surprise, and because, in the circumstances, it certainly was not inevitable. It was openly foreseen by our diplomats, and provided against in certain verbal pledges made by civilian Ministers, unsupported by military advice and preparation."

The *London Nation* admits that in all probability the "age of huge decisive victories" has passed, and goes on to remark that in modern warfare—

"The decision seems to be a question of the reservoir of trained and trainable men which can be supported by the modern complex State. On the other hand, since the resources of any State are limited, and victories give them an artificial inflation, episodes have a distinct rôle in economizing the final decision. Mr. Churchill's generalizations are, therefore, valuable as they stand; yet it is their spirit which has been, and probably will continue to be, the seed of our greatest peril—indecision."

This indecision on the part of the Allies is then mercilessly exposed by *The Nation*, which, however, admits the validity of the "tendency" theory as long as it does not become an obsession. It says:

"No one can review the course of the war without appreciating a distinct change of atmosphere between the first six months and the second half of the year. Tho the Germans staked all upon a speedy victory, they came near defeat in the first six months. The Battle of the Marne was decisive to the extent that a final German triumph was placed almost beyond hope. . . ."

"Oddly enough, the second six months of the war were more successful for the Germans, and to say this is to sound the depths of the peril of Mr. Churchill's statement. Our weakness was that our strength was undisclosed, and the very realization that 'tendency' was on our side was a drug on our efforts."

The campaigns conducted in Egypt, Gallipoli, and the Balkans are described by *The Nation* as "monuments of indecision," and it continues:

"The mind of the Allies seems to suffer from the *status lymphaticus*. It is liable to trance and becomes inanimate under crises. What happened in the advance of May and September? Our soldiers had within their grasp the prizes we sought; but they lost them by the indecision of our officers. At this moment we have yet to find the evidence that the Allies have a clear conception of how they will compass Germany's defeat. The serious wastage of her men and the incipient starvation of her civilian population may not in themselves suffice to bring Germany to the only terms which will be acceptable to the Allies within a measurable period."

"There can be absolutely no doubt that all the tendencies are upon our side; but if we are to trust to them and allow the two Near-Eastern neutrals to join the enemy, there is a possibility of drifting to stalemate. Unless we act with decision now, foreseeing and foreplanning, we fight in vain."

SCIENCE - AND - INVENTION



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THE CONTINENTS REFUSE TO BE PARTED.

They keep reaching out to join hands, despite man's best efforts. Pushed up at first in the form of an island, the slide at Gaillard Cut soon reached from bank to bank. The original island is shown in the background with a channel already blasted through it. In the foreground is a new island that appeared just before this picture was taken. A blast has just been shot off, and the water is seen rushing through the opening.

WHAT GOETHALS THINKS OF THE SLIDES

THE UNCONSCIOUS HUMORIST who announced a lecture on the Panama Canal, "illustrated by slides," would enjoy the perusal of General Goethals's report to the Secretary of War. The General does not minimize the serious character of the great earth-movements that have blocked the Canal; but they must of necessity come to an end when the earth-masses have reached a condition of stability; and he is optimistic enough to believe that this is near at hand. "If experience counts for aught," says General Goethals, there is "no doubt that the means adopted and now in use will effect a cure in the slides that now close the Canal." The amount of misplaced earth actually in the Canal is only about half a million cubic yards, which could be dredged out in a couple of weeks; but possibly ten million yards must be removed from the banks before the movements will cease. This does not mean ten months' work, of course, before navigation can be resumed; but it means that in ten months' time the Canal ought to be reasonably safe from further blocking. Says General Goethals:

"In view of the wave-movements and the difficulty of breaking through the central obstruction, it was not deemed wise to make any further predictions until the moving mass was in such shape that we had a channel through it which we felt reasonably sure could be maintained. To this end the dredges are operating to cut a channel wider than the full prism width, which will enable the maintenance of a channel more easily than heretofore. On October 6 the length of the channel that was blocked was 1,300 feet; this length has been reduced since then to 700 feet, but, due to the continued movement, we have been unable to break through the closure in the vicinity of Sta. 1,787, which is now about 100 feet in length. When this is accomplished the lower waves can be more easily removed and more reliable predictions made than are now possible."

Apparently there is no way of handling the slippery material except to let it slide into the Canal and then dredge it out. As he puts it:

"There is no possibility of handling the material to advantage by steam-shovels. The configuration of the ground is such that all material in the present movement will be taken away long before the area involved could be reached. Like the east side, sluicing could only throw the material into the prism; similarly, it is believed that the limits of the break have been reached.

"The conclusion reached, therefore, is that the only method is to remove the material as it comes into the cut, by the dredges. These are handling nearly 1,000,000 cubic yards per month, at a cost of less than 30 cents per cubic yard."

Commenting on the report, *Engineering News* (New York, November 25), from whose pages the extracts given above are taken, says editorially that General Goethals's account is a "masterpiece in technical reporting of facts" and "carries clear conviction that the long chain of earth-movements . . . has been handled in a capable, deliberately judging manner." It goes on:

"Moreover, it inspires a fair degree of confidence in an early ending of serious slide-trouble for the Canal. The present two immense slips at Culebra, in the light of Governor Goethals's review, represent part of the final adjustment of the ground to its new slope and water-conditions. Just as the thorough job of excavation done to clean up the Cucaracha slide of two years ago produced a result that upon a year's test of the permanent water-conditions appears to be stable, so the removal of the present Culebra slides promises to bring quiet in this region also.

"But in the matter of such earth-movements as these, any definite prediction is little else than barefaced guesswork. Clays of landslide proclivities not only defy calculation, but are free from all regularity or habit of behavior by which guessing could be guided. Their performance inclines toward the unexpected. Brief reference to the nature of landslips will show convincingly that they form poor subjects for prediction and prophecy.

"The classification of Panama slips given by Governor Goethals in the present report furnishes a good basis for such reference. His classification does not fall very far short of covering landslips in general. It is by no means the least valuable feature of the report.

"First and simplest are slips of the kind discussed in the ordinary retaining-wall theory. These, however complex they may become, both as to physical facts and as to theory, are always of small size.

"Secondly are the slides of the ship-launching type, where a natural slip-plane exists, on which the superincumbent mass begins to slide, under critical conditions of lubrication. Such slides are not exactly rare. They are slow-moving, and may be very large and exert enormous downhill pressure on an obstacle. Governor Goethals says that the great Cucaracha slide was of this type.

"Thirdly are slips of the plastic-flow kind, a rare and highly unmanageable type. They are represented in the remarkable series of slips in valleys of the St. Lawrence River tributaries in

Quebec—most notable of them the last, the slip which overwhelmed the village of Notre Dame de Salette in the Lièvre valley in 1908.

"They are also represented in the recent subsidence of a large cement-plant at Hudson, N. Y., as well as in the tipping of the Trancona grain-elevator two years ago. According to the description of the Culebra slides, these too are of the plastic-flow type.

"In these latter slips a clay-like subsoil becomes suddenly plastic—not to say semiliquid—under certain conditions of moisture and pressure. The Quebec slides . . . show the characteristic phenomena most clearly. In a typical instance, a flat river-



HOW THE HUGE SLIDES BEGIN.

This crevasse in the face of Zion Hill, on the west bank, appeared early in August. It resembles the work of an earthquake, but is due to soil that is almost semiliquid.

terrace, up to 60 feet high above water, developed surface-cracks, and soon afterward a large section of the bank subsided suddenly, the material below bursting out from the bank while the upper strata in part dropt nearly vertically.

"Considering the time just prior to any one of these slides, it is obvious that not only was there no warning, but every assurance could be drawn from long-continued permanence of conditions that the soil was stable. In the Quebec valleys, for instance, farms and villages existed many years on and near the ground which ultimately subsided and flowed out. Any prediction, certainly, would be for continued stability and quiet. The slip of course disproved it, and just as surely would make any future prediction in the same region valueless. As said, earlier predictions are guesswork.

"At Culebra, while the plastic-flow character is evident from the description—and Governor Goethals himself makes a clear distinction between the Culebra or 'break' type and the other slips at Panama—the situation is somewhat different, and by no means equally hopeless, from the predicting view-point. The flows that occurred there were relatively slow movements. The soils that crushed out under the superincumbent weight did not fail as suddenly or completely; they have no such narrow critical range as exhibited in other slides of this type. Adjustment should therefore be easier, and the permanence of the result should be more dependable."

SURGERY TO MUSIC

SURGICAL OPERATIONS are actually being performed to musical accompaniment in Pennsylvania, and the editor of "The Annotator's" department in *American Medicine* (New York) believes that this combination constitutes "a new and valuable agent in surgery." In June last, the use of the phonograph in the Kane (Pa.) hospital was reported by Dr. Evan O'Neil, of that town; and Dr. W. P. Burdick, also of Kane, now writes to assure the medical profession of the entire success of the innovation. Says the journal named above:

"There was a great outburst of wit and humor on the appearance of the first announcement, as might have been expected, and it is not improbable that the group of interns and nurses in the pit of the operating-theater irresistibly suggested to the onlookers the chorus of a comic opera, while those assistants themselves, probably young and retaining some vestige of the layman's frivolity, may have found it hard to resist lifting a rhythmical foot as the machine ground out its 'trivial, fond records.'

"Dr. Burdick, however, is very much in earnest. . . . 'If mankind was always consistent,' he writes, 'the idea of suitable music as an accompaniment to surgical clinics would seem entirely rational.' The attitude of a patient about to be relieved of a distressing and possibly fatal lesion should be one of joyful anticipation, instead of which the subject now enters the theater, after a tearful farewell to family and friends, with such feelings of horror and dread as to be on the verge of collapse. This frame of mind is not alleviated by the demeanor of the surgical staff, the whispers of the nurses, or the almost complete silence broken by the harsh rattle and banging of instruments. In Kane Hospital they are endeavoring to change all this, to reassure the patient and dispel his fears. The phonograph suggested itself by its beneficial influence in the wards, where it gave great pleasure.

"On the eve of an operation Dr. Burdick has a talk with the patient, in which he encourages him in every way, assures him of probable relief, promises absolute lack of pain during the operative ordeal, and tells him of the coming use of music as a sort of key-note to the cheerful attitude of the staff toward the operation. He inquires into the patient's nationality and asks if he has any favorite tunes; and when he is ushered into the operating-room next day and the anesthesia begins, the phonograph is softly playing one of the airs thus selected. . . . The effect is all that could be desired.

"We think that the authorities of Kane Hospital are fully justified in their practise and have discovered a new and valuable agent in surgery."

ORIGIN OF BARBED WIRE—The statement in a French article cited by *THE DIGEST* to the effect that Colonel Elbridge, an American army officer, invented barbed wire and used his wife's hairpins in experimental work, brings this comment from Mr. H. E. Horton, of the American Steel and Wire Company:

"This statement is surprising news to people who have the records and have grown up with the wire business. The germinal idea of an armed wire is first found in the suggestion of W. D. Hunt, Scott, N. Y., who used spur-wheels strung on the line-wires of the fence. The patent is dated July 23, 1867. Lucien B. Smith, Kent, Ohio, secured a patent on June 25, 1867, for wire-carrying projecting wire-spurs, and this is the first suggestion of barbed wire as it is now known. While this patent antedates the Hunt patent by a month, it was brought out on the interference suit that Hunt had priority. On May 13, 1873, the Patent Office granted Mr. H. M. Rose, Waterman Station, Ill., a patent on an armored wire, and from this Jos. Glidden, Isaac L. Ellwood, and Jacob Haish were inspired to their labors which resulted in the present barbed-wire business."

HOW TO CURE BAD HABITS

TO TRY to "break" a child of a habit is a great mistake, altho habits may be cured, if they are objectionable. So we are told by Dr. George Van Ness Dearborn, psychologist and physiologist to the Forsyth Dental Infirmary for Children, in Boston, in an address before a recent meeting of dental graduates, printed in *The Medical Record* (New York, October). Habituation is regarded by Dr. Dearborn as a well-nigh universal process. Machines of steel, of brass, and of wood are said by some to acquire habits just as organisms do. "Shoes, coats, neckscarfs, have habits." The rain running down a new mountainside soon acquires definite habits, which we call brooks. Almost everything we are familiar with has habits. Habit is surely a universal process in matter, in all material mechanisms. Pretty nearly everything we do is a habit. There is only one exception—voluntary motion—and even that often strives in vain against some opposing motion impress on the body by habit. One has only to try to say "black bug's blood" six times, very fast, to assure himself of the truth of this. Habit is said by William James to be more than "second nature"; it is nature itself. This being the case, we should not interfere with a habit, even a bad one, unless we know how. Says Dr. Dearborn, in part:

"A child should not be punished or abused because he has a habit, but he must be led to understand the human nature of it and must be able to work out his own gradual cure. No other method is scientific, no easier way is sane or safe to the delicate personality of the young child. Such habits are more readily prevented than safely checked.

"You can not do much in practise unless it is in your own household, or unless you can deeply convince the parents of the essential importance of rightly controlling the habit, and obtain their full and active cooperation. In many cases at least, however, it is certain that if you start far enough back, by giving a course of out-of-door hygiene, getting them to go 'back to the farm' for several months—six or so—and so fundamentally to equalize and invigorate the nervous system, thus making it so active and vigorous that this particular neuromuscular action will be practically swamped out, you may get results. I certainly would not try to 'break' a habit as such; but it may be safely and surely, most often, bent and persuaded out of its wrong growth.

"One thing in particular that we need to get out of our teachers' consciousness is that children are 'little men and women.' They are, of course, just as different from men and women almost as can be, and different in the most fundamental respects. The breaking of a well-fixed psychomotor habit is wholly, for the most part, unjustifiable. A habit is not like a femur-bone, which may be forcibly broken and in time made to grow again straight, but, on the other hand, habit is a part of the child's organism, part of his brain-action and his muscle-action, ingrained in every portion of the mind and body. Too much shock to such a mechanism when young deranges it and may set up very serious undercurrents in the nervous system. As you are doubtless aware, from 60 to 70 per cent. at least of chorea cases are known to start in some sort of nervous shock, usually fright, and it is

obvious that an acute form of shock might come from the strict, absolute insistence that a child should not continue certain deeply ingrained habits. It is not safe to break, in that literal sense, those neuromuscular habits; too much shock in such a mechanism deranges it; one stops any child-activity at one's peril, unless it be done along natural methods.

"The normal way of breaking a habit, the safe way, is to displace it with something else. The neuromuscular mechanism is far too subtle and sensitive a thing, and these involuntary habits involve too much of a strain to make it safe to insist that it be broken off short, so to speak. Enlightenment is the crying need of the times, in matters of diet, sex, and how to live in general, and education so far has neglected them. I think the average normal child can be more or less controlled by way



THE SORT OF SURFACE THAT BALKS EVEN THE "BIG SPADE."

Added difficulty in the slide-problem at Panama lies in the broken-up nature of the earth from the east bank which practically precludes the use of the steam-shovel.

of his own interest; and, as I have already said, I believe that the average child, even as young as five or six years, can be guided wisely if properly approached along the lines of psychotherapeutics, careful, elaborate explanation adapted to his years pointing out the really fundamental things. I think a child under such instruction, when it is expedient, can be imprest, or at least his subconscious mind can be imprest, so that it would be effective in many of these habit-conditions. But one must start with a normal, that is, an outdoor, nervous system, and musculature.

"Out-of-door exercise and plenty of sleep—that is the dual but shortest road to a strong nervous system. Than to live in some place or in some way so that these are amply available, I do not know any other certain way; in fact, I would suggest in every case of bad habit that we should urge on the parents the absolute necessity of the victim getting a long and real vacation in the real country. I believe that ordinarily that will have more immediate benefit than anything else they could do, and be wholly safe and hygienic, and as speedy, too, in its action as the conditions of organic life allow.

"A change of location and of surroundings assists in breaking up habits in so far as the changes invigorate the organism. When you travel in Europe, hoping to get away from your worries you hardly succeed in leaving them behind, but in so far as travel or change invigorates, as it often does, I should say that it would lessen all abnormal functional conditions, these malocclusional habits among the rest.

"Unless you have had much personal experience, and unless you have thought about these habits as found in even the average child, you are not apt to realize how very firmly fixt they become. The most trivial habit soon becomes implanted so that it is a

part of the organism even in normal individuals, and where there is any lack of inhibitory control, in a child, notably, who is slightly defective, it will become in the most literal and most obvious sense a part of the organism. This is a physiological process, the means to economy taken by the nervous system in the youthful individual. It may be a long, long way to this particular Tipperary, this education as to how to live, but it is the road that we all desire to see worn hard and smooth at once by the world's ever-hastening feet. The really right road, the ultimate golden street of all, is Prevention Way, narrow but straight, leading directly to the heaven of Normal Humanity, victim only of its own deliberate faults."

THREE NOBEL PRIZES FOR AMERICANS

ANNOUNCEMENT is made in the daily press that the Nobel prize for great discoveries in physics is to be awarded this year to two Americans—Edison and Tesla—and the chemistry prize to another American, Prof. Theodore W. Richards, of Harvard. The physics award, we are told editorially by *The Electrical World* (New York, November 13), will give especial satisfaction to the engineering profession, to which both the recipients have rendered distinguished service, tho the successes of both in contributing to the advance of pure science have been no less notable. Among many other familiar scientific feats, those performed by Edison include the perfection of the incandescent electric lamp and its utilization, his improvements in telegraphy and telephony, and his invention of the phonograph; while to Tesla our thanks must be given for the invention of the induction motor, the foundation of our present use of alternating currents for distribution, for brilliant experimental work with the high-frequency current, and for pioneer investigation in wireless telegraphy. Says the journal named above, in substance:

"The name of Thomas Alva Edison has been long associated with the invention and development of the incandescent electric lamp. But Mr. Edison would still rank as one of the very greatest inventors of modern times if some one else had done this splendid work and his reputation had to rest solely on other achievements. His well-known labors in purely telegraphic matters were triumphs of ingenuity, but yet more striking and original was his now almost forgotten invention of the electrolytic relay, which is reputed to have won for him one of the largest payments ever made for a patent. Later his ingenuity was lent to develop the telephone-transmitter, and at about the same time came the beginnings of the phonograph, by all means his most brilliant contribution to physics. And later yet have come his contributions to art and science in the invention and development of motion-pictures.

"To Nikola Tesla the world owes that great impulse which has resulted in the whole modern art and science of power-transmission. The use of alternating current for practical electrical distribution began with his development of the induction motor, which at once gave the general flexibility and usefulness of the system its due place in the practical world. With that invention the struggle between direct and alternating currents presently ceased, and each fell into its proper sphere of usefulness, of which the boundaries are still expanding. His later pioneering work in the development of high-frequency currents in theory and practice displayed brilliant resourcefulness. In wireless telegraphy, on which he spent a long period of tireless research, inventors of the present and future will find themselves often confronted with the results of his inventive energy and keen scientific insight. Those who remember Tesla's lecture before the Institute of Electrical Engineers on high-frequency phenomena,

now nearly a quarter of a century ago, realize the extent to which his investigations opened the way to a field of which we have not even yet seen the full fruition."

The award to Professor Richards is for chemical-research work that in all its essentials was completed ten years ago and has since been of high practical value in both analysis and theory. The particular work covered by the award is Professor Richards's method for ascertaining atomic weights. Says a writer in *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston, November 17):

"By this system the smallest unit of nature, the atom, has been weighed with an accuracy not approached by any investigator preceding Professor Richards, say chemists. By this method, which has been widely accepted and put into use, new ratios have been established in the assaying of ores. Copper ore, for example, is bought upon a metal value, established by chemical analysis, a value based upon the weight of atoms in the ore. Until the Harvard experiment results were announced, this atomic weight was represented as 63.2; whereas, the experiments showed the figure to be 63.6. This difference of two-fifths of 1 per cent. means an increase in value to the seller of about \$6,000 on \$1,000,000 worth of ore, it is said. Conditions of sale of other metals commercially handled were similarly affected by the discoveries of the new system.

"The revised tables of atomic weights have been arrived at by determining the relative weight of the atoms tested in different elements, not by attempting to weigh the atoms themselves, an impossible task in view of the fact that there are millions of atoms in a single drop of water. . . .

"Highly accurate apparatus is needed, it goes without saying, in weighing units so minute, apparatus that is freed from the influences of atmospheric variations in heat and moisture. Allowances must also be made for altitude.

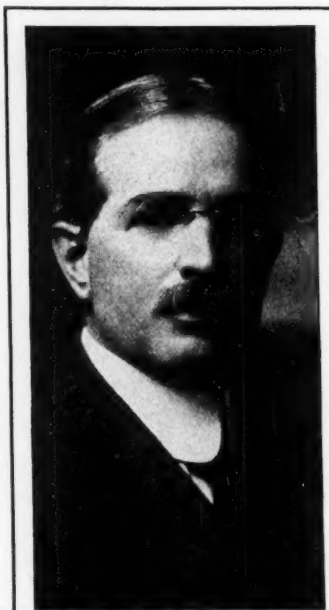
"At the Gibbs Memorial Laboratory, Cambridge, Mass., where Professor Richards works, the balance used in this field weighs down to a millionth of a milligram, or one three-millionth part of an ounce. As an illustration of such a breath of weight, a short light mark by a lead pencil may be cited as something that this balance will weigh. Care is taken to have the platinum receptacle in which the material is to be weighed the same temperature as the rest of the balance, since an ascending current of air would be generated if the crucible were even slightly warmer than the rest of the apparatus, making it lighter on the balance, and thus making a difference of a fraction of a milligram in the weight recorded. For this reason the balance works in atmosphere of its own, confined within a glass case containing dried air.

"In the case of nickel and cobalt the chemist is obliged to contend with untoward qualities in the bromides of these elements in that they are decomposed by exposure to the air. In Professor Richards's experiments they had to be bottled, therefore, in the tubes in which they were made, so that they should not be exposed to the air for an instant.

"The bromid of nickel, for example, was made in a porcelain tube containing dry gas. Thence it was pushed into a glass attachment in which was a weighing-bottle. After it had been got into the weighing-bottle the stopper, which lay on a bulge of the tube, was shaken out and pushed into place with a glass rod—thus performing the operation absolutely under cover.

"This is one of many devices Professor Richards has perfected. Each experiment with a single compound is repeated, moreover, four or five times for the sake of accuracy, and then the element which is being studied is tested in other compounds and in connection with various different substances, until the series, as it is called, consisting of twenty-five or even fifty determinations, is concluded, and the element dismissed in favor of another.

"The experiments have been so uniformly successful that all atomic weights determined by them have been accepted by the scientific world and incorporated in the international tables used by all chemists in making analyses."



A WEAHER OF ATOMS.

Prof. Theodore W. Richards, a Harvard professor of chemistry, stands with Edison and Tesla as a 1915 Nobel prize-winner because of his success in determining atomic weights.

LETTERS - AND - ART

WHERE ARE THE CHRISTMAS STORIES OF YESTER-YEAR?

THE HOLIDAY ANNOUNCEMENTS show that "holiday books" have gone into the limbo of outworn things, and the New York Tribune appears to be glad of it. Books made especially for the Christmas trade began to lose their meaning some time back, it points out, and the war dealt the final blow. "There are no longer any useless 'gift-books'; we have come to recognize the fact that the real books for giving at special seasons are the best books for all the year 'round." If these discarded books have a personality that could revivify themselves upon occasion, they might perhaps have joined the ghostly train of "Characters in the Short Christmas Story" that Mr. Howells tells us recently invaded the sanetum of "The Easy Chair" in the Franklin Square offices of *Harper's Magazine*. He pictures them to us in his own delightful vein:

"It was certainly something like what is called, in elegant literary parlance, a motley crew that gathered about the Easy Chair early in the week before the Christmas Holidays. They were of all ages and sexes, to employ another euphemism not unknown to elegant literature, and at first glance they gave the Easy Chair the impression that its den over the Elevated Road in Franklin Square was about to be used as the scene for rehearsing a drama of Moving Pictures. But a second glance showed in the different faces and figures a dejection out of keeping with the cheerful artists whom the Chair had seen elsewhere posing for the films. Among the rest there was one extremely wicked-looking Old Man, hand in hand, oddly enough, with a very gentle Silver-haired Sage, whose presence breathed beneficence from every pore, and who carried a purse flaccid from the constant application of the finger in almsgiving. There was a sort of family resemblance in the two which could also be noted in two women, closely associated, apparently, in the character of Mother and Daughter at times, and other moments in that of Elder and Younger Sister. In either case the face of the elder wore a perfunctory fierceness, and that of the other a sort of conscience-smitten meekness, as one worthy of all scorn and contempt by her conduct, but of all compassion and forbearance by her nature. There was a Little Child (dressed rather young for her size, with hair of the sunniest peroxid tint) whom the Easy Chair expected at any moment to pipe up in a high, thin voice, and a very tattered Homeless Boy with a hunted look, as of being driven from holes and corners and denied the hospitality of ash-barrels and kitchen-middens even in the filthiest purlieus of the tenement-house districts. These seemed to be related, on some mysterious terms, as brother and sister, and to have the promise of bringing to repentance a rich and haughty lady who had every mark of a Guilty Mother, as concerned the boy, but who openly claimed kindred with the Little Child. The avarice of a Heartless Miser betrayed itself to the world at large by the clutch which he kept upon the bag prest to his heart, and by his aversion from the son whom he had cut off with a shilling because he had married the girl he loved; the young husband and wife were of a tenderness for each other so obvious that it must have moved any other old man in the world. One of the company appeared in a lively imitation of a person overcome by sleep from the cold of a blizzard, which he threw about him at moments in a cloud of shredded paper.

"A crew of Buccaneers were unmistakable in the costumes of the period; the guests of an old-fashioned Squire in an English country-house, especially the pretty girl who held a spray of mistletoe above her head, could not be confused with the joyous Americans going home for the holidays with their gripsacks in their hands. Almost every grade of society was represented in the curious rout, and every variety of experience in romance was suggested."

When the Easy Chair recovered from his surprize at the intrusion and asked what was wanted "the company answered as with one voice, or as much with one voice as a stage crowd ever does, 'We want work.'" The Easy Chair was naturally bewildered, and wondered if the crowd were applying for work as

"movie" actors. He got indignant denials from "types of repentant Forgery, of Reprieve at the Last Moment, of Death-Bed Restitution of Purloined Jewelry," as well as from Detectives of established reputation and Castaways on a desert island. They boldly and boastfully, if tearfully, asserted themselves for what they really were, while admitting, "in the present decay of the industry which once supplied an ever-increasing demand, that they were as hopelessly out of work as if they had been employees in a bicycle-factory—almost a hoop-skirt factory." It was even asserted that "not a single short Christmas story of the old sort appeared on the tables of contents or the announcements of the forthcoming issues of the magazines. Some spokesman of the crowd admitted that "a fiction of subtler holiday implications" had possibly supervened upon the old order, but he reminded the Easy Chair that such stories could not "offer employment to characters trained in the old school, any more than the satires and allegories of these later years could use actors bred up in the melodrama of our fathers." The pleader ran on breathlessly:

"Our friends here must have the strong, objective incidents and unquestionable motives and unmistakable *dénouements* which have always brought down the house. They must have thrilling adventures again, shipwrecks, combats with wild beasts and abandoned human enemies of all sorts, stresses of weather in variety, atrocious cruelty, and undying remorse, ending in complete forgiveness. They must have precipices and icebergs, and losses at sea, or they can do nothing. They must have elopements and returns with parental pardon, and boards crowned with holly and swimming with bowls of wassail. But I needn't go over the ground in detail; you know it, and it is up to you to make the first move for the relief of our unfortunate coworkers."

The discussion continues until the blame for non-employment is laid at the door of editors who decline to give readers what they want. Every author, they declare, can be safely counted on as preserving a Christmas story that editors have rejected and these only need to be brought out. The Easy Chair forthwith brings one out and tries it on the crowd:

"Without further preamble the Chair began to read, and proceeded among the murmurs of satisfaction with which the characters recognized themselves and one another. But a silence gradually grew upon the company, and deepened to such an effect that the Chair scarcely dared to look up from its page. A deadly suspicion stole upon it at last which it had not the courage to verify; but amid the general, the universal, hush it was aware that the old-fashioned short Christmas story was not only not what the readers wanted; it was not what the characters themselves wanted.

"'Oh, come, come!' the Chair said, folding up its manuscript, 'you mustn't lose heart so easily. This is perhaps an exaggerated instance of the old-fashioned short Christmas story. With the more modern appliances there must be stories in which you would not be ashamed to find yourselves at home. We will allow that we should not ourselves quite like to figure in such a jejune action as this; we were very young at the time we invented it. We will tell you!' and the Chair became luminous with the bright idea which had struck it. 'We will appeal to our contributors to go over the short Christmas stories of the past, and familiarize themselves with your several idiosyncrasies, and adapt them to the motives governing actual fiction. In a year, you will find yourselves, under various guises, in every magazine of this fair land of ours.'

"'But meantime,' the Motley Crew responded, 'we have nothing to eat.'

"The Chair, with some difficulty, scratched its carved Gothic head with one of its cushioned arms. Then it fairly blazed with another luminous idea. 'Here! You needn't starve!' and the

Chair managed to make search in the secret drawer where it had found its manuscript, and discovered a vast heap of Charity meal-tickets. "These will entitle you!"

"Never!" shouted the Motley Crew, with one voice, and they vanished through the open door, prolonging, as they stumbled down the spiral back staircase of Franklin Square, their universal refusal in the hoarse, dull roar of the mob that makes itself heard at threatening moments behind the scenes."

WHAT "A FELLAH" MAY KNOW OF "DUNDREARY"

UNDYING FAME is likely, for several reasons, to invest that play of the last mid-century, "Our American Cousin." The most potent is without question the fact that it was on the boards at Ford's Theater in Washington when Abraham Lincoln was shot. That greater drama, wherein the old play figures as only a portion of the *mise en scène*, has lately been spread before countless thousands in America and in England, in the most successful of all films, "The Birth of a Nation." Now it returns in the transmogrified form it has borne these many years since the elder Sothorn made one of the characters, *Lord Dundreary*, almost put the play itself out of court. Its latest sponsor is, of course, Mr. E. H. Sothorn, who in bringing the play into his repertory season at the Booth Theater, New York, not only challenges comparison with his father, but with his earlier self. So far as his impersonation

compares with his father's, a critic like him of the *New York Evening Post*, experienced enough to speak from the card of actual observation, only grants that while "it is an exceedingly clever and finished bit of mimicry, it is still an inferior replica." To the *Tribune* critic, who may be expected not to have seen the elder Sothorn, the present Mr. Sothorn's impersonation seems "exquisite." "The humorous lisp and the queer little skip, the attenuated whiskers and the distinctionless 'anecdotes'—all these are as productive of laughs today as they were in 1858. More so, undoubtedly, for Mr. Sothorn's fine portrayal extracts and develops every humorous possibility that the character contains." As first written, the leading

character was not *Dundreary*, but *Asa Trenchard*, the Vermont Yankee. *Dundreary's* rise to the leading place was a

later development, and the "queer little skip" originated in a stumble over a rug which Sothorn turned to good purpose and brought down the house. The play, we are told, has not been revived, for "no power on earth could revive it," in spite of the fact that our fathers saw it for 500 consecutive nights at

Laura Keene's theater, but its history may be recalled with interest as the *Evening Post* writer tells it:

"The most interesting thing about the play is the fact of its survival. In its original shape it was not a very brilliant specimen of the work of Tom Taylor, who, in his conception of *Asa Trenchard*, had to trust largely to his imagination. In this country its early success was due chiefly to the impersonation of that part by Joseph Jefferson, a remarkable performance of the tragic drunkard, *Abel Murcott*, by W. Davidge, and the work of Laura Keene. When the elder Sothorn produced it in London, where J. B. Buckstone played *Trenchard* along the lines of English fancy, *Dundreary* had already become the dominating figure, and the phenomenal run of the play was due entirely to his creation, which was continuously elaborated at the expense of other characters. And in those days Sothorn's performance had high artistic, as well as humorous, value. Often trembling on the verge of burlesque, it never quite crossed the line of eccentric comedy. It was essentially true, in spite of its occasional exaggerations, and it was executed with a delicacy of execution which has seldom been surpassed upon the stage.

"The particular type of 'swell' which it portrayed has been extinct for more than a generation, but was then widely prevalent in the West End of London, and was often to be observed in the stalls of the Haymarket, where Sothorn was acting. It was ridiculous, but not idiotic or unrefined. *Bunthorne* was a later development of it. And the innate refinement in Sothorn's impersonation—the gentlemanliness that underlay the silliness—and a certain subtle suggestion of the player's infinite enjoyment of his own satirical work, were among its chief charms. He had not then descended to the broader and more farcical expedients which he adopted for the delight of more miscellaneous audiences.

"Externally, E. H. Sothorn's *Dundreary* is almost a facsimile of his father's, as the latter was in the later days of its existence. In gait, voice, dress, features, manner, and action, it is an exceedingly clever counterfeit, which to the present generation might easily pass current for the original. As a bit of histrionism it is a notable achievement, and it is welcomed not only for the genuine entertainment it affords, but for the old memories which it awakens. But it brings back the form only, not the spirit, of the elder Sothorn."

As a specimen of old-time dramatic reviewing we append a paragraph on Mr. Jefferson as *Asa Trenchard* taken from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York, March 5, 1859):

"Mr. Jefferson is of a nervous-bilious temperament, and of course possesses extremely acute sensibility of the light and shade—the fine and broad—phases of human character. It is this natural characteristic to which he is much indebted for his popular and peculiar rendition of nicely drawn points. To this also do we attribute the remarkable success he has achieved in 'Our American Cousin'; he performs a Yankee character in this piece such as has never before been seen on the stage, but



THE ELDER SOTHERN.

Who lifted the part into a play and made what is expected to remain an American classic of the theater. This portrait is from a rare contemporary photograph.



OUR DUNDREARY.

Mr. Edward H. Sothorn, who periodically delights us with the revival of his father's admired creation, playing it in most essential respects upon the same lines.

such as proverbially exists in most of our Eastern States; not the broad and extravagant boor we have been in the habit of seeing, but the quiet, easy, natural, and at the same time excessively droll fellow. Probably no gentleman in the profession ever attained in so short a space of time so high a place in the affections of a playgoing public. As comical and funny as he sometimes is on the stage, he is always chaste, and careful not to outrage modesty by a brusqueness or rudeness not compatible with refined taste."

THE MUSICIAN'S MENTALITY

LANDER'S FAMOUS REMARK that musicians were posset of the brain of a nightingale and the heart of a lizard seems to need confirmation from some other than a literary source. Taking such virtuosi as Josef Hofmann, Fritz Kreisler, Paderewski, and Godowsky for authority, the brains can not be lacking or the virtuoso does not result. "All musicians know that a man or a woman who exerts the necessary mental force and logic to master the scientific and esthetic problems of the art of music in a sufficient degree to compel success must be an individual of considerable intellect and power." So speaks Olin Downes in *The Musician* (Boston), and fortifies his opinion by the testimonies of the musicians cited above. One of the common beliefs concerning the great virtuoso is that industry rather than brains and high intelligence makes the artist. Mr. Downes asked Josef Hofmann how much he practised, and he laughed, "Not nearly so much as the newspapers would like to have me. Often not for a week. Often not more than an hour, and never when I am incapable of absolute concentration." Mr. Hofmann, he declares, "has one of the clearest minds with which I ever happened to come into contact." His intellect, Mr. Downes adds further, is "remorselessly active every minute of the time," and hence "in his practise it is an enormously time-saving power." He quotes the musician to this further effect:



LAURA KEANE.

Who was appearing in "Our American Cousin" at Ford's Theater the night Lincoln was assassinated.

"You know there is a belief, common not only among students, but also on the part of many teachers, that the principal precaution to be taken is that the mind of the pupil shall not outstrip his fingers. We hear so much futile talk about such and such a one who could be a great artist if only he or she had the technique. Now, while there are certain persons who have physical limitations when it comes to performance, the average problem is precisely what it is not suspected to be. These players whose fingers are such sluggards, as a matter of fact, in nine cases out of ten, lack vision. They lack that inner conception, not only of the architecture of the composition and its spiritual

basis, but the tone of the rhythm, which compels expression. Communicate that conception—awaken the creative power of the mind, if you can—and then you will see results, technical as well as interpretative.

"Listen! I have a mechanic who assists me in my laboratories, of which I have two in Europe"—most of us have heard of Mr. Hofmann's hobby which leads him far in the study of electrical machinery and allied subjects. "That man is, in a sense, a

great artist, for he can put into form whatever his mind can conceive. When I want him to make a piece of machinery, for example, I don't give him measurements from which he laboriously constructs the appliance or the detail of machinery that I want. I simply show him the thing or else describe it exactly to him, until he understands the precise requirements, and sees the thing in his mind. As soon as he sees the thing with his



JOSEPH JEFFERSON AS ASA TRENCHARD.

The impersonation that made the play famous in the Sixties.

inner vision, he can make it. When he has made it, we try the measurements, and I can not remember a single instance in which he has gone wrong. But whatever he can not see as a whole, whatever he can not mentally conceive, it is practically useless for him to try to make. And a similar mental process, to my mind, is at the root of any reliable technique."

Paderewski's answer, Mr. Downes tells us, was "in itself an epic." He had asked Paderewski, at the zenith of the great pianist's career, if he found the game had been worth the candle, bearing in mind the "long nights as well as days which he was credibly reported to have spent at the piano when preparing for a concert tour." Paderewski answered, "I can say that I have fought good battles." Mr. Kreisler believes that "musicians are positively superstitious about practise":

"They seem to believe, many of them, that there is one way to play well. That is to practise, and practise, and practise. I think myself that there is a great deal too much practise—at least at the keyboard. Believe me, the real preparation for a concert goes on, not here"—drumming with his fingers—"but here"—tapping his forehead. "This grinding and dulling the mind, as well as the sense, for hours at a time! It seems to me little short of insanity. I give you my word, I have listened under windows, outside of practise-rooms, and listened to the same passage repeated a thousand times over, and you wouldn't have known whether the players were thinking about the tennis-court or reading a novel at the time—much less trying to interpret music!

"I tell you frankly, I can't practise more than one hour at a time. At the end of that period I am exhausted. I will play,



WHEN E. A. SOTHERN PLAYED DUNDREARY IN LONDON.

FIRST SWELL.—"A-a-a-waw! How did you like him?"

SECOND DO.—"Waw-waw-waw. No fellah evaw saw such a fellah. Gwoss cawlicature—waw!"

"When E. A. Sothern first produced 'Our American Cousin,' in London, in 1861," says the critic of the *New York Evening Mail*, "there was a good deal of good-natured 'spoofing' at its alleged caricature of the native English 'silly ass.' John Leech, the famous cartoonist, who was mainly responsible for the success of *Punch* at that time, caught what might be termed the 'reverse English' of the joke and in the above cartoon neatly turned it against his protesting countrymen."

yes, I will play five hours if you like, but to practise—! Yet it has to be done now and then. When I have learned to play a work, I have engraved that work on disks in my head. The record will be perfectly clear for some time. Then it will get a little dull; I must take it out and clean it up. Then I pay careful attention to every technical detail, and I concentrate on each little kink until it is smooth again. But I am happy to say that the greater part of my musical work, even in my student days, was never spent on purely technical acquirement.

"Look here, by thinking we can control any part of our body to an amazing extent. There are thousands of persons who can think a pain into their fingers. Now I have learned a new concerto, with many difficult and complicated passages, by reading it during my train-rides, and then practising it for just a week before the time of the concert. That is not at all an amazing thing to do. I concentrate. I tell my finger what it is to do. Then I am ready to fire my pistol. What do you do when you fire your pistol? You have your weapon loaded, carefully aimed, and cocked. Then a slight pressure of the finger and you make your shot. When I know my concerto my pistol is loaded. I know exactly what I am going to do. I have already told my finger how to do it. Everything is ready; the finger is in position; it only requires a slightly greater degree of nerve-force to make that finger go down in the exact place and in the precise way that it should. That is what it means to practise away from the keyboard; and I assure you the results are better than letting your fingers, and not your mind, learn their lesson by note. When that is the case, you know, the fingers may run off the track, and if you can't guide them back, look out!"

"Leopold Godowsky, who works like a Titan, practising, composing, mainly composing, in the midst of a numerous and merry family, told me that he expected Hofmann for a visit. 'But what do you do when there are two virtuosi, and only one piano in the house?' I asked. I suppose it is shameless to divulge the reply, but here it is. 'Oh,' said Mr. Godowsky, 'we practise very little, or not at all. Sometimes Hofmann shows me something, or I show him something at the piano, but that is all.' This from Leopold, the incredible and infallible.

"But he does not think he is infallible.

"He said that he could remember perhaps six concerts in his life, never-to-be-forgotten occasions, when he really played his best, without caution or misgiving, and things came out as he meant."

NAILING "LITERARY INSINCERITIES"

WHEN the occasion does not permit of a plebiscite on the "best books of the year," literary supplements and reviews fall back on the "best books of all time." From Sir John Lubbock to Don Marquis the task has been more or less lightly undertaken. Sir John's "hundred best" are still wrangled over; Don Marquis puts a crimp in our learned pretensions by asking in the *New York Evening Sun* "How many of us, if we were really honest, could make a list of great works that we have tried to enjoy and couldn't rise to?" After having challenged us, he takes a sort of ghoulish glee in making his own confessions:

"We have for our own part a greater sin than that on our conscience. There are a number of books that we habitually pretend we have read which we have never read at all. They are great books, we suppose. At least we've heard a lot about them and read a lot about them and people who assume to know say they are great books. Some of them we have tried to read and couldn't read, but we have pretended at one time or another to have read all of them. Here is our list of shame:

"Tom Jones.' We have tried to read it four times and could never get five pages into it.

"The Vicar of Wakefield.' We have attempted it at least six times and taken the count in the first round every time.

"Dante's Divine Comedy.' We have been going against the Cary translation, which we hear is a good one, at least once a year for twenty years and we can't get interested in it. Yet up to the present moment we have always pretended that we had read all of it and liked it.

"Don Quixote.' We have read a little of it and we know all the usual things that are said about it, and we even wrote some stuff about it one time, saying all the things that are usually said about it, for which we got \$25, but we don't really like it: it puts us to sleep; it seems long drawn out and clumsy to us.

"Boswell's Life of Johnson.' We never read any of it. But we have pretended to, and have pretended at times to quote incidents from it and have got away with the incidents. . . .

"We have always pretended that we were familiar with Walt Whitman's poetry, but as a matter of fact we never read anything through excepting 'When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed.'"

REPUBLICAN FORECAST OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

(Continued from page 1410)

I believe he could win, as it will take a candidate of individual popularity to win. . . . And as I do not believe any Republican can win with Roosevelt in the field, the best course is to nominate him and make success certain." Planks of the platform specified by this observer are a high protective tariff, strict neutrality, no arms, ammunition, or loans to warring countries, and a protest against "watchful timidity." Other prominent Republicans put forward by editors of New Jersey are ex-President Taft, ex-Senator Root, Justice Hughes, Senator Borah, Senator Weeks, Governor Whitman, of New York, and ex-Governor Hadley, of Missouri.

In the matter of the Progressive party we learn from the Camden *Post-Telegram* that the large majority have come back to the Republicans, an opinion shared also by the Camden *Argus* and other journals. But there are those who believe that the Progressives will run an independent ticket in the Presidential campaign. The question whether they will return to the Republican fold or not is complicated by State issues, we are informed by the Arlington *Observer*, which adds that "the Republican State organization seems not to have taken to heart the lesson of three years ago." In this connection the Burlington *Enterprise* observes that while the Progressives as a party can be regarded as having passed out, still "it can not be denied that many Republicans are not ready to come back under old conditions, and there must be some concession in the retirement from active service of the old leaders who have been, in a sense, discredited." The Summit *Herald* doubts whether the Progressive party can survive next year, and is sure that it can not "if the Republicans make a wise nomination," which this journal believes they will do.

Pennsylvania

Turning now to Pennsylvania, we first consider the press of Philadelphia and learn from *The Public Ledger* that "many independents have already rejoined the Republican party, but the remnant will probably put up a separate ticket unless there shall be a radical change in leadership and the adoption of progressive platform planks." This journal expresses no choice for the Presidential nomination, but it does say that "present indications point to the tariff as the principal issue in 1916." The Philadelphia *Press* thinks it is too early yet to make a choice of candidates and says "there are a number of Republicans who might make good Presidents." On this point *The Inquirer* agrees with its local contemporaries in having an "open mind." Protection for American industry, however, is clearly the platform, according to *The Inquirer*, because when the war is over this country will again face the disaster of near-free trade. As to the Progressives, this journal reminds us that they have returned to the Republican fold in large numbers. The leaders of those who remain out, we read further, declare that they will run a ticket. Yet it is highly improbable that the Progressive party will be a factor in the Presidency, for "Pennsylvania is again Republican." Disavowing any of the character of a party paper, the Philadelphia *North American* neverthe-

less makes answer to the inquiry of THE LITERARY DIGEST because it considers the poll to be "a matter of great interest." This journal says:

"We believe the Republican party; if it hopes for success in 1916, must nominate a man whose views on economics are in accord with the predominating sentiment of the nation, and whose record is one of clean politics.

"For instance, Senator Cummins, of Iowa, is a type who would command an undoubted following among those former members of the Republican party who will not vote for a reactionary under any circumstances. We would suggest as an issue, however, 'National Honor and International Law.'

"However, as we have said, *The North American* is not a party paper and can not be cited as such, and our suggestion of Senator Cummins as a type is merely our judgment of the course which it seems would be the most promising for the Republican party at this time."

Ex-Senator Burton is named as second choice by the Philadelphia *Young Republican*, which selects Theodore Roosevelt first, with the remark that if he is nominated for President it is believed the Republicans would find Progressives where they belong—inside the Republican party-ranks. This judge calls a protective tariff the issue; but the West Philadelphia *Bulletin*, with Boies Penrose as first and William S. Vare as second choice, having its mind thoroughly on its weekly appearance, makes known the fact that the issue is "Friday." Crossing the Keystone State to Pittsburg, we learn that *The Dispatch* is not prepared as yet to make a statement on candidate or issues; and the Pittsburg *Gazette-Times*, which speaks editorially also for *The Chronicle Telegraph* of that city, observes:

"*The Gazette-Times*, while it will support the Republican nominee for President in 1916, does not feel that the time has yet come to express any opinion as to the individual upon whom that choice should fall.

"As to the issue upon which the Republican party will wage its campaign, we believe it will be one of economics. By this we refer not only to the tariff, which will of course be of paramount importance, but also to the internal economic policy of the present Democratic Administration, which we think will justly be the object of Republican attacks.

"The answer to your question regarding the Progressive party is that, so far as Pennsylvania is concerned, the Progressive party is dead."

The problem whether the Progressive party is alive or dead, if referred to 55 journals in cities other than Philadelphia and Pittsburg, would find that 42 believe it dead; while 11 serve notice that unless the Republicans nominate a man of progressive mind the younger party will put forth an independent ticket. The Progressives will surely amalgamate with the Republicans, we hear from the Kane *Republican*, if Governor Brumbaugh should be the nominee; and the Johnstown *Tribune*, which also makes Pennsylvania's chief executive its first choice, tells us that "Progressives are Republicans and will remain Republicans so long as the party, its platform, and nominees are responsive to the will of the people." Says the Middleburgh *Post*: "If the Republicans

nominate a man like Roosevelt, or a good clean man, the actual choice of the people, the Progressives will largely join the Republican party. If not, the Progressives will nominate an independent ticket and split up the vote and give the Democrats another chance to win." Justice Hughes would unite the two parties, according to the Troy *Gazette-Register*, but Mr. Root would arouse the old feeling of resentment, and it adds: "We do not at this time see a man to be compared with Hughes in meeting the need of the hour. He ought to accept."

Ten more Pennsylvania editors pick Justice Hughes as the candidate, eight of whom name him as first choice. As a favorite-son candidate Governor Martin G. Brumbaugh stands first with 18 mentions; Mr. Boies Penrose second with 5; and Philander C. Knox next with 3. Mentions of possible candidates from outside States are: Elihu Root, 17; Theodore Roosevelt, 5; William H. Taft, 3; Senator Borah, 10; ex-Senator Burton, 8; Senator Cummins, 3. Other names presented are: Myron T. Herrick, Governor Johnson, of California; Senator Warren G. Harding, of Ohio; Senator William S. Kenyon, of Iowa; former Vice-President Fairbanks, Governor Whitman, of New York; ex-Governor Hadley, of Missouri; President Wilson, and Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts. The last, because of his recent run for Lieutenant-Governor, in which he outstripped his elected associate on the ticket, Governor McCall, is considered by one editor to be "the James A. Garfield of the coming National Republican Convention."

Of the 55 journals from cities outside Philadelphia and Pittsburg from which we have just been citing opinions, 27 declare for protection and prosperity as the issue, which are terms synonymous in the minds of most Republican editors anywhere. The Spartansburg *Sentinel* and others want tariff-revision by commission, and some commentators add progressivism to protection and prosperity, while not a few make preparedness the secondary issue to the tariff. Quite in contrast to this volley of pro-tariff verdicts is the remark of the Chambersburg *Public Opinion* that the tariff will not raise a great deal of interest in that section. There are editors, also, who bind up with the tariff as an issue the inefficiency of the Democratic Administration in its various policies, domestic and foreign. Issue and candidate are one in the name of Theodore Roosevelt to the Wilkes-Barre Luzerne County *Express* (German), which would run the former President on his record; and one wonders whether the Windber *Era* does not think in the same way when it proposes peace as the issue and President Wilson as nominee. "I am not clear," writes another editor, and adds that if the end of the war shall come in the interval before election it will precipitate new conditions out of which may arise the issue.

Delaware

From Pennsylvania's less ample neighbor, Delaware, we learn through the Wilmington *News* that the tariff and a general "business management of the affairs of the country" are to be the issue, that most of the Progressives will rejoin the Republican party, and that Elihu Root is first choice for the Presidential nomination. He is first choice, too, in the judgment of the Milford *Chronicle*, which adds to the tariff as main issue "preparedness to pro-

tect the United States against any or all enemies, without or within." In other words, this journal goes on to say, we must meet the conditions of the hour, "even tho the time-worn policies of the past have to be wiped away." As for the Progressive party we read that "the rank and file are expressing determination to support the Republican party; but about 5 per cent. of the men who led the revolt against the Republican party are professing to believe that they will run tickets."

WEST VIRGINIA TO WISCONSIN

If we transfer our post of observation now to the East Mississippi Valley States and begin with West Virginia, we meet with eleven editors who are in agreement with the Fayette Tribune that the Progressives are rejoining the Republicans and that there is practically "nothing left of Old Moose." And the Parkersburg News says that "from present indications there will be no division in the ranks in the coming campaign." On the question of issues this journal reminds us that West Virginia is a strong protection State and that it will settle upon the main issues of the tariff, preparedness, cessation of hostility to business, and prosperity restored. These planks of the platform are named by nearly all the State's editors from whom we have heard. "Tariff and Temperance" should be the slogan, according to the Hinton Leader, while the Clarksburg Telegram joins Mexico with the tariff, and the Harrisville Ritchie-Standard would wage the fight sheerly on "Democratic extravagance and incompetency."

In the selection of Presidential candidates the Parkersburg State Journal offers as first choice Elihu Root, as second Theodore Burton. The ex-Senator from Ohio is mentioned first by the Wheeling Intelligencer and Senator Borah, of Idaho, second. Mr. Borah receives one more mention as second choice, while Mr. Burton is named three times as second and four times in all as first choice. In addition to these men we find that West Virginia Republican editors think well also of Justice Hughes, and that single votes are given to ex-Governor Myron T. Herrick, of Ohio, to the present Governor Frank B. Willis, to Charles K. Fairbanks, and to Theodore Roosevelt.

Ohio

Making our way into Ohio, where former Senator Burton is the favorite son, we see him picked as first choice by 29 out of 49 editors and as second choice by 13. The Troy Miami Union picks Theodore Roosevelt as first choice and ex-Senator Beveridge, of Illinois, as second. Senator Warren G. Harding, of Ohio, is the first choice of the Norwalk Reflector-Herald, and the second of the Bucyrus Telegraph. After Mr. Burton the Marysville Tribune would accept some "progressive Western man," and the Lebanon Journal "any good Republican." Beyond doubt, according to the Warren Tribune, Mr. Burton is "the strongest Ohio man," but the Conneaut News-Herald says: "Altho Buckeyes to the core, we recognize the lack of qualities which would make Theodore E. Burton the ideal candidate."

This journal favors Justice Hughes as first choice. Republican editors also express a liking for Mr. Taft, ex-Governor Myron T. Herrick, Senator Borah, and for Mr. Root, who is described by the Marion Star as the "second choice

undercurrent in Ohio." But the Cincinnati Commercial Tribune keeps an open mind on the subject of candidates. Yet this journal does state that the issue of 1916 is the tariff, and informs us further that the Progressive party was never strong in the region of that city and ran even behind the Socialists in 1914. That the Progressives are gone and lost forever, or that they never really were among those present, is the verdict of 42 other Ohio editors, who say they have rejoined or will rejoin the parent party. While the Gallipolis Journal says outright that the Progressives will run an independent ticket, the West Union Record tells us that "any Republican candidate not too actively allied with the standpatters will command almost the entire support of the Progressives." A similar caution is suggested by the Greenfield Republican, which says the Progressives will rejoin the older party "unless forced to eat a standpatter, in which case they will register the most effective protest possible."

As to the issue of the campaign, 32 of these editorial observers say it is the tariff; and they all seem to be in the frame of mind of the one who holds that it is the tariff now as never before. Four name no platform, presumably because "many things may develop which will change the policies of both parties." Not a few of our informants join preparedness with protection and prosperity, as we have seen to be the case in other States; and three editors advocate a strong plank for national prohibition, altho it is admitted by one that this crying need will probably be ignored. Restriction of immigration is also proposed, and as straight charges against the Wilson Administration we hear of the Democratic war-tax, the control of Congress by the South, and the handling of our foreign affairs.

Indiana

In the adjoining State of Indiana, the issue of the campaign of 1916 is said flatly to be the tariff, or protection and prosperity, by 31 editors out of 54, while 18 join additional features. The Indianapolis Star says, however, that "if the European War is still on, the issue will be the President's war-policy and he will be reelected easily. If the war is over, the issue will be our domestic policies, and any Republican can be elected." The candidates mentioned by this journal are first Theodore Roosevelt and second Charles W. Fairbanks. As to the probable course of the Progressives, we read that "it will depend entirely upon whether the Republicans are standpat or progressive in their platform and especially in their nominees, unless the foreign policy of the Government should absorb all minds to the exclusion of domestic issues. The Star informs us further that in 1912 and 1914 it supported the Progressive ticket, and that it is not yet advocating a return of the Progressives to the Republican party."

The Indiana Republican editors who put the tariff as the dominant issue do so because, as the Huntingburg Independent says, protection means "a full dinner-pail for every laboring man and prosperity with a big P." Present improved conditions are attributed to the war primarily, and there is strong sentiment for protection against European competition when peace is attained. Preparedness paired with the tariff is the platform suggested by the Columbus Republican and other journals.

Some judges would make an issue also of the war-taxes, and the Madison Courier arraigns the Administration's war-policies as well as the Underwood tariff. Protection must be the basis on which the tariff is reconstructed, remarks the Danville Republican, but it has no wish to see a return to the schedules of the Payne-Aldrich Bill. In this connection the Starke County Republican advocates that the party declare for a permanent, powerful tariff commission. "We must take the tariff out of politics," this journal adds, "and set the schedules upon equitable, scientific, revenue-producing lines. As long as the tariff is in politics Southern Congressmen fear to do their duty as statesmen." The Mexican "muddle" will be an issue as well as the tariff, according to the Greensburg News, an opinion voiced also by the Rensselaer Republican, which urges further a firmness in international diplomacy, and national aid and regulation in the construction of transcontinental highways.

When it comes to the selection of candidates we find wide-spread support for Charles Warren Fairbanks, Indiana's favorite son. "Fairbanks first, last, and all the time," says the Akron News, and other journals echo the cry. Out of 54 opinions 36 favor the former Vice-President as first choice and 7 as second. From the South Bend Tribune we learn that by October 11 more than half the 92 counties of the State recorded their preference for Mr. Fairbanks as Presidential nominee. Two or three other names were mentioned in the canvass conducted by The Tribune, but Mr. Fairbanks stands so far in the lead that "it is correct to say he is by all odds the first choice of thoughtful Indiana Republicans."

The flash of contrast appears in the remark of the Cambridge City Tribune that "the standpat Republican politicians are advancing the claims of Fairbanks, but the masses only from State pride are not very ardent in his support. Any good Republican that can unite the party can win in Indiana." Former Senator Root, of New York, is picked as first choice by six editors of this State, and others mentioned are Senator Cummins, Senator Borah, Justice Hughes, Governor Whitman, of New York; Senator Sherman, of Illinois; Senator Burton, of Ohio; Governor Willis, of that State, ex-President Taft, Senator Weeks; ex-Governor Hadley, of Missouri; Governor Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania; and Senator Harding, of Ohio. There are journals, among them the Butler Record, who determine on no choice because sentiment is not yet sufficiently crystallized, and the Fort Wayne News states for choice "any good man."

This characterization is qualified by the Hobart News, which gives no name, but sets down that the candidate "must be of the progressive sort." What is more, The News, turning to the question of the party of this title, tells us that the Progressives of Lake County have shown no inclination to return as yet to the Republican fold, and it is extremely doubtful if they do return. This all depends upon "planks and actions" at the National Convention, observes the Goshen News-Times, and it adds: "Our county (Elkhart) gave Roosevelt and Beveridge a majority in 1912 and in 1914, while this township went Progressive by more than 500." Of like mind is the Connersville News, which believes that the Progressives in the main will join with the Republicans unless the latter

make some serious mistake that would cast the Progressives aside; and the *Terre Haute Spectator*, which informs us that 90 per cent. of the Progressives are back with the G. O. P., says that if the Republican nominees are the right type they will receive practically the united vote of the Progressives.

That the majority of the Progressives have returned to the Republican fold is the conviction of 41 Indiana observers. All but possibly a handful of leaders will join the Republican ranks, one editor writes, and these leaders will be independent voters. The Progressives will vote with the old parties, according to the *Mitchell Commercial*, and the most of them with the Republicans; but while admitting this, the *Winchester Journal* points out that as it happened in the green-back and free-silver movements, the Democrats will capture a few former Republicans who went astray. The *Chesterton Tribune* reports, however, that the Progressives in that section are all becoming Democrats. But the *Huntingburg Argus* says "precious few" Progressives are being won over to the Democrats and that they never will be missed, while the *Newcastle Courier* describes them as "sorehead Republicans" who had been voting the Democratic ticket for some time before the split in the Republican party.

Illinois

In next-door Illinois 104 editors out of a total of 122 tell us that the Progressives are all back in the Republican party or on their way for 1916. The Progressive voters will join with the Republicans on the issue of "putting the interests of the American nation above those of any race, creed, class, or section or foreign power," observes the *Chicago Tribune*, which names Senator Sherman, of Illinois, as its sole choice for the Presidential nomination. And it tells us further that the Progressive politicians "will probably hold out for concessions to them in the way of offices." From the *Wheaton Illinoian*, we hear that while there are several very radical Progressives who undoubtedly will join the Democratic party if Mr. Wilson is that party's nominee, the majority will return to the old party unless some unforeseen thing happens to cause them to change their minds. The so-called Progressives in this section, the *Plainfield Enterprise* states, are Republicans; and "those aspiring to office, or, in the language of the realm, being sought for office by the people," are going to run on the Republican ticket and are being welcomed back to help save the country. That the Progressive party is a thing of the past is the view of various other observers, among whom is the editor of the *Pineknayville Advocate*, who adds: "I believe I should know, as I was the county chairman. As I see it we accomplished our purpose, and to be honest with you a great many of us are d—d sorry. Not that we feel we were wrong in defeating a stolen nomination, but for the financial worry of the American people during this Watchful Waiting Administration." People voted the Progressive ticket because of Roosevelt, the *Morris Herald* points out; but they did not want Democracy. Now they are afraid of Roosevelt because they believe he would get the United States into the war. On the other hand, the *Urbana Courier* says that nine-tenths of the Progressives are now Republicans and will vote as such

"unless Roosevelt runs again as Progressive candidate."

It all depends on the Republican candidate, says the *Dundee Hawkeye*, one of a dozen journals that qualify the return of the Progressives with the condition as epitomized by the *Prophetstown Echo* that the younger organization will not stand for "standpat domination," and must be "reasonably recognized." The Progressives will all vote strong with the Republicans unless an ultraconservative is nominated, according to the *Fairfield Wayne County Press*, which names Senator Borah as second choice because he is a native of Fairfield. As first choice this journal would have Colonel Roosevelt on the Republican ticket. But the favorite son of Illinois, who basks in wider favor than the favorite son in any other State, is its Republican Senator, Lawrence Y. Sherman. One hundred and four editors are for him as first choice and 5 as second. Senator Root, of New York, is the first choice of 8 editors, while others whose names are mentioned are ex-President Taft, Justice Hughes, Senator Borah, ex-Governor Hadley, of Missouri; Colonel Roosevelt, Mayor William Hale Thompson, of Chicago; Charles W. Fairbanks, Theodore E. Burton, Philander C. Knox, Senator A. B. Cummins, Senator Weeks, ex-Governor Herrick, of Ohio; Senator La Follette, Governor Johnson, former Governor Charles S. Deneen, Governor Whitman, and Senator Warren G. Harding, of Ohio.

Altho not a few journals predict that Senator Sherman will unquestionably have a solid Illinois delegation at the Republican National Convention in 1916, some make allowance in the Sherman enthusiasm for State pride, and point out that Elihu Root is also spoken of very favorably. In fact, says one authority, "many seem to think he would make the best candidate available if by-gones could be considered as such," and we read further: "Root and Sherman would not make such a bad ticket according to many Illinoisan views." Out in this country, says the *Oregon Ogle County Republican*, we are satisfied that the Republicans could elect a "yellow dog" next year; but we must put up a statesman. The biggest man in the nation is needed in the President's chair to meet the big things that will be happening in the next few years. Any Republican aside from Mr. Taft or Colonel Roosevelt will poll an overwhelming vote over the whole State, says the *Minonk News-Dispatch*, and "you can put Illinois down for a 200,000 Republican majority in 1916." But another editor whose paper's first choice is Senator Sherman has a personal preference for Elihu Root because he believes Mr. Root could beat President Wilson on the war-issue. That Senator Sherman is "not able enough" for the nomination is the view of the *Rockford Republic*, which adds: "We do not know that Mr. Taft will be considered, but think him much the best man the Republicans have."

"All that is wanted," observes another editor on the latter subject, "is the re-establishment of a policy which will open the factories and start the furnace-fires that have been dead for nearly two years." This judgment, implying the enactment of a protective tariff to revive prosperity, is voiced by 57 of his contemporaries in Illinois, who cry, in the words of the *Litchfield Free Press*, for "the American system of protection as advocated by Henry Clay,

Blaine, Harrison, and McKinley." What is more, 38 editors couple the tariff with additional issues such as the Administration's Mexican and foreign policy, preparedness, the emancipation of business from unreasonable Federal interference, a merchant marine, and free tolls at Panama, no pork-barrel appropriations, less Southern domination, the failure of the Wilson Administration, local option, real neutrality, the fiscal policies of the Democrats, and national prohibition, which is mentioned by five journals, one of which, the *Elmwood Gazette*, says, "Raise the flag and down Rum."

Michigan

Entering Michigan, we encounter in the tariff and our national defense the chief issues. As the *Grand Rapids Herald* puts it, "protection for our shores and our industries." The *Ithaca Herald* speaks of protection and "the best navy in the world"; while the *Cadillac News*, the *Bad Ax Tribune*, and others confine their statement to the tariff and the return of Republican prosperity.

On the other hand, the *Reed City Herald-Clarion* and the *Mt. Pleasant Enterprise* confine the issue to the national defense, while the *Swedish Ishpeming Superior Posten* tells us that "if the war is not over when Congress meets, one of the issues will be discussing means whereby the country can get in shape so as to help the Allies." The *Charlotte Republican* says that "the Republican party next year should be for a liberal policy of war-preparedness at home and the restoration of a protective tariff."

Turning to the matter of candidates, we find Senator William Alden Smith named as first choice by 5 out of 15 editors, and as second by 2. Elihu Root is the first choice of 5 journals and Justice Hughes of 3. Senator Root and Justice Hughes are mentioned also as second choice, and other names suggested are ex-President Taft, Senator Sherman, of Illinois; ex-Senator Burton, of Ohio, and Theodore Roosevelt.

Ten of the 15 Michigan journals here represented inform us that the Progressives are coalescing with the Republican party, if they have not already come back; but while the *Allegan Gazette* admits they are almost all back in the fold, it says that "events may readily change this condition," and the *Evart Review* and others issue warning that the Republican party must use its best judgment in forming the platform and steer clear of machine-method control of the party.

Wisconsin

In Wisconsin all the Progressives, say 18 out of 27 journals, have come back to the fold; and among them the *Oshkosh Northwestern* observes that "the Progressives of Wisconsin are the Republican party," while the *Janesville Gazette* informs us that the Progressives as an organization are "badly demoralized in the Middle West." It is important to note, however, the Wisconsin distinction between the Roosevelt Progressivism and the La Follette, or favorite-son, brand. Thus the *Monroe Journal* informs us that the Progressives thereabouts will run a La Follette Progressive ticket; and a Polish journal of one of the State's larger towns tells us that what the La Follette Progressives will do is "questionable," but the Roosevelt variety will probably drift back to the

Republicans. The latter notion is entertained also by the *Antigo Journal*, and the *Grantsburg Journal* points out: "Here the Progressives never favored an independent ticket, but styled themselves independent or progressive Republicans. They will affiliate with the Republican party, and especially so if Senator Cummins is nominated."

Again, the *New Richmond News and Republican Voice* tells us that "there are no Progressives to speak of in Wisconsin." Opponents of the regular organization are personal followers of Senator La Follette, and "what they do depends largely on whether La Follette is a candidate for the Presidency or stands for reelection." On the latter point the *Rhineland New North* is convinced. Senator La Follette will run for reelection as Senator, and Wisconsin will be for a Progressive President. The *Madison Wisconsin State Journal* sums up the situation as follows: The Wisconsin Progressives will probably join the Wisconsin Republicans on State issues and the ticket. Both organizations will probably divide their national vote among Democrats, Republicans, and Progressives "if the Republican party commits suicide next summer by repeating the performance of 1912, which she will probably do."

Approaching the question of candidates, this journal names Senator La Follette as first choice and Congressman William Kent, of California, as second; but it postscripts the information that "Woodrow Wilson will be the next President." Mr. Wilson is also stated both as first and second choice by the *Waupaca Record-Leader*, which terms itself "independent Republican." And the *Racine Times*, also of the latter description, remarks that it prefers Mr. Wilson to most of the Republicans mentioned so far. But the *Milwaukee Journal* puts down Elihu Root as first choice, and its selection is concurred in by 9 of the 27 Wisconsin views here reflected. Others named are Justice Hughes; Senator Sherman, of Illinois; ex-Senator Burton, of Ohio; ex-President Taft; Senator Borah, of Idaho; Congressman Mann, of Illinois; Senator Cummins; Governor Whitman, of New York; former Vice-President Fairbanks; Governor Phillip, of Wisconsin; Theodore Roosevelt; and ex-Governor Hadley, of Missouri.

Some editors refrain from making a choice, tho they look forward to having a progressive Republican at the head of the ticket. The *Wausau Record-Herald* defines its choice to be "any regular, clear-cut Republican of sufficient strength and prominence who stands for strong national defenses and the maintenance of the nation's honor and the rights of American citizens at all hazards." Turning then to the platform on which such a candidate shall stand before the country, this journal observes:

"The dominant issue, at least in effectiveness at the polls, will be the President's policy with relation to Germany, England, and Mexico; and the problem of preparing the nation for military defense. Much will be said about the tariff, but it will have comparatively little influence on the result, altho such influence as it exerts will be favorable to the Republican side."

Nevertheless, 9 of this observer's contemporaries set the tariff down as the dominant issue, while 4 prefix it to preparedness. Two

or three make it the efficiency of a Republican Administration; while 2 others name it preparedness alone. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* states the issue as the tariff, the condition of business, and perhaps to some extent the Administration's Mexican policy. The *Wausaukee Independent* holds the same opinion, while other journals include with the tariff and Mexico Mr. Wilson's foreign policy in general. The *Columbus Republican* would wage the fight on the need of "genuine neutrality," and the *Oconto Reporter* thinks the people will remember Mr. Wilson's "rigid attitude toward German sea-policy and his lenient attitude toward that of England." The *Norwegian Amerika*, of Madison, adverts to a "lack of vigor in our foreign relations," and adds that "the war in Europe and the great demand for war-supplies have helped the Administration out considerably in our export trade, but have not helped our imports from the warring countries."

MINNESOTA TO OKLAHOMA

Taking up now the States along the west bank of the Mississippi, we find in Minnesota, to start with, that while Mr. Root is admired by the West for his ability, to quote the *St. Cloud Journal Press*, he would not create the enthusiasm for a winning campaign as would a younger man. The former Senator from New York therefore is the second choice of *The Journal Press*, which names Senator Borah as its first, because the Idaho man would unite the party and bring back the Progressives whose defection resulted in Republican disaster in 1912. But Mr. Root is the first choice of two other Minnesota editors, while Senator Borah is the second choice of three. The *Thief River Falls News-Press*, which places Mr. Borah first, says that it has no second choice; and it thinks the candidate should be a Western man, and that none other than the Idaho Senator is at all prominently mentioned. Other possibilities mentioned are Senator Cummins, ex-Senator Burton, Congressman Mann, Justice Hughes, ex-President Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and Irvine L. Lenroot, Congressman from Wisconsin.

As for ex-President Roosevelt, the *Fergus Falls Journal* remarks that those who object to his Republicanism should name the man who is authorized to decide who are and who are not Republicans. As for the Progressives, this informant says they never left the Republican party in Minnesota and that 95 per cent. of the men who supported Colonel Roosevelt supported the balance of the Republican ticket. In consequence, the *Fergus Falls Journal* adds that there will be no Progressive ticket in 1916. A like opinion is expressed by 8 out of 12 Minnesota editors, while the *Northfield News* states that the "deserters" will beyond question vote the Republican ticket next year "if the right man is nominated." Mr. Root first, Senator Borah second, are the choices of this journal. From the *Preston Times* we hear that "there are not enough Progressives left to wad a shotgun," yet there is much dissension among Republicans, and this must be healed if Republican success is to be possible at the polls.

As to the issue of the campaign, one editor professes that it is hardly visible, altho he does add that the tariff will cut some figure in the Northwest, and that the national defense and our foreign policy will loom up large. Eight of this observer's



Elderly People

are frequently lacking in old-time vigor, merely because they do not have proper nourishment—food that rebuilds the body and keeps the mind healthy.

With advancing years the digestive functions are apt to become sluggish, and assimilation is less active.

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—a scientific, partially predigested food, full of the rich nutriment of wheat and malted barley, including the vital, life-giving phosphates grown in the grain. These elements are absolutely essential for normal health, but often lacking in the usual diet.

Served with cream, or hot milk for those who need easy chewing, Grape-Nuts is delicious, and furnishes body-building, energy-producing nourishment—especially adapted for keeping folks "young" and vigorous, whatever their years.

"There's a Reason"

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contemporaries put down the tariff as the prime issue, and some of them join to it efficient business administration of the Government, the war-tax, preparedness. Two journals want national prohibition in the platform, and one of these urges tariff-reform by commission, the building of a national system of good roads, and the "soft pedal on war-preparation." There seems to be no well-defined issue between the two great parties, another informant writes, except the old tariff bugaboo; but he does think a stand should be taken relative to better and more easily enforceable laws for the proper regulation of so-called big business.

North Dakota

In the adjoining State of North Dakota we meet a somewhat similar impression about the platform of 1916. There is not one issue but several, remarks the *Jamestown Alert*, and it is difficult to say which is the foremost. This journal then names the readjustment of the tariff, the pacification of Mexico, radical reduction in the cost of running our Government, absolute neutrality, moderate war-preparations, good roads, the stabilizing of prices of farm-products by Federal enactment, and the abolition of grain-gambling. From the *Bismarck Tribune*, which names the tariff and national defense as the issues, we hear that there is a feeling in North Dakota that the tariff-measures of the Wilson Administration have been prejudicial to agricultural interests, and that dairy and live-stock interests have been affected by foreign competition. The *Beach Chronicle* advocates preparedness, and the *Fargo Searchlight* would make the fight on the questions of "a strong but not warlike international policy; a new industrial policy coupled with tariff readjustment—not so-called revision; and a policy of defensive preparedness, not militaristic." The candidates capable of upholding such a platform, according to this journal, are first Senator Borah and secondly Senator Cummins. Providing the Republican National Convention is progressive in act and mind, we read, there will be no national Progressive ticket, but there will be a great deal of independence in State, county, and legislative offices. On the other hand, the *Fargo Forum* advises us that it is not known at present whether the Progressives will run independently or rejoin the Republicans; while the *Jamestown Capital* says that they will do neither, and that party lines were never before so indistinct in North Dakota. The latter journal puts Senator La Follette first for the nomination and Governor Johnson, of California, second, and would inscribe on the campaign banners "Peace and Prosperity." The *Forum* would have Senator Cummins make the Presidential race on the issue of "a square deal for all the people"; and the *Bismarck Tribune*, with Mr. Root as first and ex-President Taft as second choice, tells us that "the right kind of a Republican will carry the State easily over President Wilson."

South Dakota

In South Dakota the right kind of a Republican, according to three out of seven opinions, is Senator Cummins. Mr. Root and Justice Hughes also are named as first choice; while we hear mentioned as second Colonel Roosevelt, Senator Borah, and Congressman Mann. Senator Cummins seems in the best position to unite the



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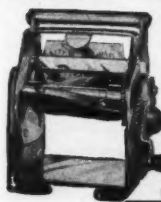
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factions in the State, observes the Watertown *Public Opinion*, which informs us that in South Dakota there is no Progressive party, and never has been. Progressive Republicans selected and elected Theodore Roosevelt on the Republican ticket. As they never bolted, it is not necessary for them to come back. The Watertown *Saturday News* and others agree that the Progressives for the most part will support the Republican ticket, but the *Pierre Capital-Journal* is of the belief that the Progressives will run an independent slate, while the *Mitchell Republican* tells us they will rejoin the Republicans "providing the nominee and platform are fairly satisfactory and if the National Committee changes its apparent determination to rule the party FROM THE TOP DOWN."

In the matter of platform some editors point to the tariff and the vacillating policies of the Democratic Administration. Some argue that to be kept out of the war is the main issue, while others mention our fiscal policies or "progressive Government as against machine boss-rule dominated by the corporations." Finally, the *Pierre Capital-Journal* would base the campaign on the annexation of Mexico.

Iowa

We have seen that Senator Cummins enjoys large esteem in South Dakota; but when we travel into his own State of Iowa we find him beyond doubt the favorite son. Out of 33 opinions 24 are emphatically for him as first choice, while Elihu Root is selected by 7 editors and Senator William F. Kenyon by 1. Other possible candidates in the view of Iowa observers are Senator Burton, Justice Hughes, Senator Sherman, Governor Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania; Senator Borah, Senator Weeks, ex-President Taft, and former Vice-President Fairbanks. An authoritative summary of political sentiment in this State is furnished by Mr. Lafayette Young, editor of the *Des Moines Capital*, who says:

"The Republican party of Iowa will present a candidate for President in the person of Senator A. B. Cummins. . . ."

"I do not know what the issues will be, but I would think they would be in relation to restoring the tariff to the products of the Pacific Coast, including lumber and fruits, and in maintaining the sugar duty, and placing a duty on dyestuffs to induce capital to go into the manufacture of dyestuffs. . . ."

"My guess would be that the Progressives will not run a separate ticket in this State."

While the Cedar Rapids *Republican* concedes that the delegation from Iowa at the National Convention will go to Senator Cummins without contest, nevertheless it tells us:

"Even some of his closest friends do not expect him to be nominated. The thought is gaining ground in the State that all Cummins hopes to do is to be put in position to control the Presidential patronage in the event a Republican is elected—not a very high ambition for one who would be a statesman."

This journal is one of those that mention Mr. Root as first choice, as do the Mount Ayr *Record-News*, which calls him "the Canopus of the political starry firmament," and the Fairfield *Ledger*, which says that "the candidacies of a lot of cheap and unreliable politicians would go into hiding

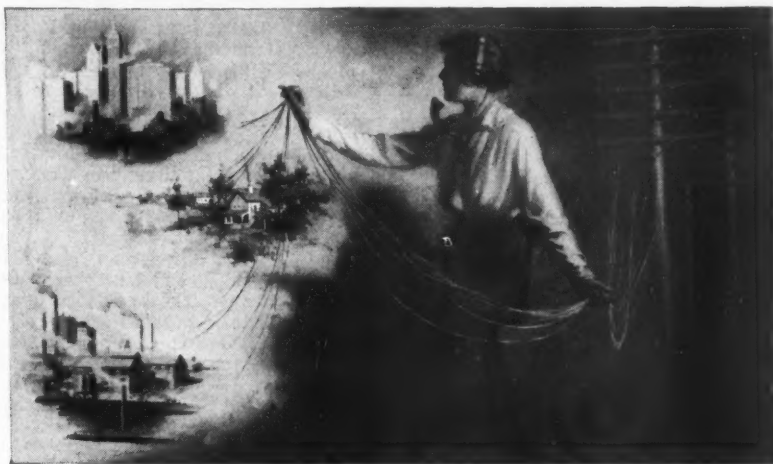
if Mr. Root should announce that he will consent to the use of his name." On the question of the probable action of the Progressives fifteen journals besides the Burlington *Hawkeye* state that they have disappeared in Iowa and that the Republicans of Iowa are practically united. Altho persuaded that the Progressives are returning, the Boone *News-Republican* remarks that "there are a great many would-be political leaders in Iowa, and there will undoubtedly be some kind of a Progressive side-show next year"; but the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil* emphasizes the fact that the Republicans must have a progressive candidate and platform in order to win. And several other papers agree.

Thus we hear from the Storm Lake *Pilot-Tribune* that altho there will be no Progressive-party ticket in that region, yet if a man of the type of Penrose or Weeks is nominated "there will be trouble in Iowa," and the Marshalltown *Times-Republican* cautions us that in case a "reactionary" Republican is nominated the great danger is that the Progressives will vote the Democratic ticket in order to make their protest felt. Yet the Keokuk *Gate City* informs us that the Progressives will rejoin the Republican party and that many old-time Democrats are ready to desert their party—many for the first time. Consequently Republican victory is assured—"If the Republicans can get together on the right kind of a candidate." So also the Dubuque *Times-Journal* holds that 90 per cent. or more of the Progressives will rejoin the Republican party on national issues if a Republican of progressive tendencies is nominated; and in the opinion of the Sac City *Sun* and the Norwegian-Danish *Visergutten*, of Story City, if Senator Cummins is nominated there will be no split.

As to the platform the Des Moines *Register and Leader* squares it as follows: "President Wilson's instability; Southern domination; Democratic inefficiency; Republican capacity for government." The charge of Democratic incompetency is voiced by other critics, among whom are the Burlington *Hawkeye* and Osceola *Sentinel*, which says it is a proved fact through the "big deficit in the Treasury, due largely to lack of tariff revenue and discrimination against the industries of the North by the Southern policies enacted in the latest session of Congress." A protective tariff is the sole issue stated by ten editors, while several others join to it preparedness, and the Mason City *Globe-Gazette* adds national prohibition.

Nebraska

Advancing into Nebraska we hear first from such an authority as Mr. Victor Rosewater, editor of the Omaha *Bee*, that the platform of 1916 will be "Protection of American rights at home and abroad; of American industries; of American natural resources." This informant also tells us that "the Progressives are no longer in evidence as a party" in his State, and that his first choice for the Presidential nomination is Justice Hughes, "if he authorizes the use of his name," his second "the next best man." Out of 13 Nebraska editors 4 pick Justice Hughes as first and 3 as second choice. Several make their selection with the proviso that Justice Hughes be willing to enter the race; but because the Wayne *Herald* has been informed that the former Governor of New York positively declines



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to be nominated, it names Elihu Root first as "a statesman of the highest rank" who could be depended on to lead the nation with utmost wisdom. Of like mind is the *Norfolk News*, which believes that Mr. Root, "in spite of his corporation connections," is a man of "sound integrity and of distinguished mentality." In view of his past statements the editor of this journal doubts whether even Theodore Roosevelt would oppose Root. By the 13 papers here represented Mr. Root is chosen first five times and second four times; while among other possible candidates we meet with the names of Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska; Governor Whitman, of New York; Theodore Roosevelt, Senator Weeks, ex-Senator Burton; former Governor Hadley, of Missouri; Senator Sherman, of Illinois. Senator Borah or Senator Kenyon would strengthen the Root ticket in the Central West, according to one of our informants, if nominated for Vice-President.

For a concise summary of the political situation in Nebraska we turn to the *Aurora Republican*, which says:

"Our guess is that President Wilson will be renominated without Mr. Bryan's assistance, if not, in fact, over his active opposition; that this will have the effect of still further widening the breach in Nebraska Democracy and make probable the election of a complete Republican State ticket; that the Republicans will nominate a strong candidate for President on a platform of which national preparedness and restoration of the protective tariff with particular reference to changed conditions following the European War will be paramount features; and that the Progressives will generally forget past differences in a patriotic desire to rescue the country from Democratic misrule."

Nine other Nebraskan editors say that the Progressives are returning to the fold, but the contrary view that the Progressives will run an independent ticket is expressed by the *Beatrice Express*, and the *Falls City Journal* admits that it does not know what they will do. *The Journal* supported Roosevelt in 1912, we are told, and thinks now that the Progressives will cut a small figure unless the Republicans make a poor nomination from the Progressive standpoint. "Taft is just as objectionable," *The Journal* adds, "as he was in 1912."

In the matter of the issue all the editors here represented name the tariff as foremost. As one observer says, it is the "only real issue" whose "importance can not be overestimated," and he adds that "Republicans will stand for protection to American products, the fruits of the factory and of the soil, the restoration of prosperity, jobs for the jobless, and a good price for the products of the factory and the farm." The adjustment of the tariff must be made by a permanent commission, in the view of the *Nebraska City Press*, which, in chorus with others, hails as an additional plank in that platform the errors and weakness of Democratic policies, foreign and domestic. Another editor joins the plank of preparedness, and the *Grand Island Independent* advocates this policy only for defensive purposes and pleads for "the absorption by the Government of the manufacture of munitions, armament, and battle-ships." Moreover, *The Independent* tells us that also there will probably be involved in the campaign the questions of

neutrality, the Monroe Doctrine, and our foreign policy.

Missouri

So staunch an organ of Republicanism as the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, in Missouri, the next State we visit, has not yet fixed on a Presidential choice. But the *Globe Democrat* does tell us that the tariff is to be the issue of 1916, and that so far as the Progressives are concerned there are no present indications of an independent ticket, and the Republican party in Missouri "seems to be fully restored." In agreement with the latter opinion are 9 out of 11 editors. Among them we may mention the editor of the *Greenfield Vedette*, who says that 95 per cent. of the Progressives are back in the old party and the remaining 5 per cent. may never get back, while the *Milan Republican* states that there are no Bull Moose Progressives any more, that Republicanism is always progressive, and it adds: "Our prodigals are back home and the fatted calf will be ready for next election." Nor are there any Progressives in Cooper County, according to the *Boonville Republican*, and yet this journal expects to see three parties in the State in 1916. Again, the *Brookfield Budget*, which bears the name of Theodore Roosevelt at the head of its editorial columns as its choice for President, and states as the issue "political righteousness," claims that the Progressives in that region would unite on a Progressive candidate, whether it should be Colonel Roosevelt or some other man known not to be a stand-patter. Otherwise they will "favor a national Progressive ticket or vote for the reelection of President Wilson." On this particular point the *Joplin News-Herald* says that if a Progressive national ticket is put in the field it will be done "through Democratic manipulation to weaken Republican strength, for the district is close."

As a Presidential possibility, former Governor Hadley, of this State, receives 5 out of 10 votes cast variously for ex-President Taft, Elihu Root; James E. Watson, of Indiana; Congressman Mann, of Illinois; Justice Hughes, Senator Borah, Senator Sherman, and Senator Weeks.

As to the issue of the campaign *The News-Herald* thinks it is too early yet to determine the question, altho it does mention as component features of the platform a non-partisan tariff commission, the adjustment of domestic economic problems to meet the exigencies created by the war, and national defense on a basis "fitting to the war's peace-conclusion rather than to present jingo demands." Several other observers point to the tariff as the chief issue of 1916, and some add to it "economy in the administration of our Government and a foreign policy that will protect American life and property rights." "American markets for American producers is the slogan which this country needs," observes the *Carthage Press*, recurring to the protective tariff, "and the voters we believe are fully alive to the fact." Says the *Kansas City Journal*: "The Republicans will welcome this issue. Not within a generation has there been such an opportunity to impress tariff truths upon the people. Even the war can not overshadow the great American issue."

Kansas

In Kansas also protection is to be the rallying-ery, according to no less an authority than Governor Arthur Capper, of that

State, who is the publisher of the Topeka Capital. What is more, he joins with the tariff the issue of national prohibition, picks Justice Hughes as his first choice for the nomination, Senators Cummins and Borah and ex-Senator Burton as his second choices, and adds: "The rank and file of the Progressive party are returning to the Republican party. In my judgment there will be no Progressive party in 1916." That the Progressives will return to the Republican fold is also the observation of the Topeka State Journal and of others, altho the Iola Register notes that they have all come back, "with the exception of Victor Murdock, Henry Allen, and Bill White—and the two last are 'showing signs.'" In this connection the Wichita Eagle, whose editor is Victor Murdock, places as candidates Colonel Roosevelt first and Governor Johnson second on an independent Progressive ticket for preparedness. We hear elsewhere that while the Progressive party is dead, Progressive sentiment is as strong as ever and that it is something of a guess whether the Progressives will all vote the Republican ticket. The Salina Journal confesses that it does not know what they will do; the Galena Republican and others tell us they will not run an independent ticket providing the Republicans afford them a candidate and a platform that are progressive. This journal, which picks Governor Capper as a candidate, would couple with the tariff as issues, prohibition, woman suffrage, "keeping out of the war, and no large army." Then we meet with the additional issues of preparedness, business methods in our Government, which, translated, means Democratic ineptitude and the Mexican and foreign policies of the Administration.

Turning to the question of candidates, the Clay Center Times, among various journals, picks Justice Hughes first and Senator Cummins second, yet it does not believe that the former Governor of New York will run, and fears that Senator Cummins "lacks the punch to win." So it decides that the man who can come nearest to defeating President Wilson is ex-Senator Burton, who is strong in himself and a nominee Progressives can support. From the Lawrence Journal we learn that the Republicans of Kansas are awaiting developments. Senator Borah is strong there, with the inherent weakness of coming from the Far West; while we read that Senator Cummins would not show strength because of his failure to support the prohibition law in Iowa. Elihu Root is popular, but is thought too old, and Senator Weeks is gaining strength. In a word, adds this journal, Kansas can unite on any good man who is the nation's choice. The Topeka State Journal would nominate Elihu Root if Taft should not be a candidate, and the former Senator from New York is also first choice of other Kansas editors.

Arkansas

As we pass into the adjoining State of Arkansas we learn from Republican editors that the protective tariff is the issue of chief importance there, while the Huntsville Republican prophesies that "nineteen hundred and sixteen will be the year of emancipation from Democratic misrule caused by a dogged determination to carry out an impractical pet theory. The public is getting enough of experiment work." This journal and the Mammoth Spring Progress name Elihu Root as first choice for the



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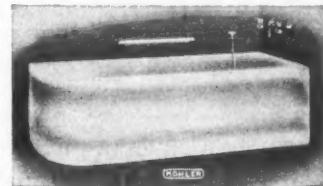
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Presidential candidacy, while Senator Sherman is first pick of the *Marshall Republican*. Other names mentioned are Senator Harding, of Ohio; Senator Bourne, of California; and Governor Johnson, of the same State. The general feeling of the journals here represented is that the Progressives will return to the Republican fold.

Oklahoma

Next door, in Oklahoma, the *Enid Events* says that the "Republicans and Progressives are united." Five editors join with this journal in the statement that the Progressives have come back home. Yet the *Muskogee Phoenix* (Ind. Rep.) informs us that as yet there is no decided sentiment in that neighborhood, altho many Progressives have announced their return to the Republican party. For all that, the *Guyton Herald* observes:

"If the Progressives are given a square deal they will be back in the Republican party, but they won't swallow reactionary dictation. Taft could no more lead the Republican party to success to-day than he did in 1912. The Progressives seem inclined not so much to demand Roosevelt as they demand incorporated in the Republican platform essentials of good government, knocked out by the Chicago convention, and which they feel Roosevelt the best qualified to represent. Borah might do, but he awakens no apparent national interest; Cummins is likewise weak; Weeks inspires no enthusiasm worth while, and Herriek isn't cutting any ice with the common herd. Whitman doesn't seem to fill the bill, and Hughes, the one big man left, refuses to have it. Roosevelt could clean Wilson's plow if he received the nomination from the Republican party, for he still overshadows all candidates. But *The Herald* is for almost anybody but Wilson."

Ex-President Taft is the first choice of the *Ponca City Courier*, while Elihu Root is named first by the *Ardmore Statesman* and the *Bartlesville Enterprise* and second by three other journals. *The Enterprise* speaks of Colonel Roosevelt as its second choice "if he gets right," and we hear mention of Senators Weeks, Borah, and Cummins; of Myron T. Herriek and Congressman Mann. Chief Justice Hughes is the first choice of the *Alva Review-Courier* and of the *Stillwater Gazette*.

As for the issue, remarks *The Gazette*, it will be the "same old thing"—the tariff, an expression voiced by several of its contemporaries. The *Chandler News-Publicist* speaks of it as the protection of home industries, "which means the protection of the interests of all classes"; and the *Ponca City Courier* would join with the tariff the issue of "reasonable preparation for war." National economy and our foreign policy are other planks proposed, along with that of the *Ardmore Statesman* inscribed "inability of the Democrats to understand big-business conditions and regulate without destroying." In the matter of the Administration's foreign policy the *Enid Events* makes particular allusion to Mexico, and adds: "The impression prevails that by failing to recognize the Huerta Government when all other nations did, the Administration became responsible to a large extent for the resultant loss of life and destruction of American property in Mexico."

COLORADO TO THE COAST

We venture now into the Far West, with Colorado as the wedge State. To begin with the Pueblo *Chieftain*, we find that the tariff is the big issue, that it will accept the nominee of the Republican National Convention, and that as for the Progressives "political conditions are not favorable to Progressive segregation in the Presidential campaign." Nine other journals, including the Rocky Ford *Enterprise*, say that the Progressives have all, or the majority of them at least, returned to the fold. The party is a thing of the past, we are told by some observers, by others that it will be merged with the Republicans rather than attempt to finance what seems a hopeless campaign. And yet a warning voice is lifted here as in other States where the Progressive obituary is all ready for the press. It is seen in the remark of the Montrose *Press* that there is "not enough of them left to form a corporal's guard—unless the Republican party should nominate a man like former President Taft." Out of 12 Colorado papers, 11, with the Pueblo *Chieftain*, fix upon the tariff either as the sole issue or in conjunction with other features. National defense is the adjunct of the tariff as the Brush *Republican* views the campaign, to which the Fort Collins *Express* adds—an American merchant marine; national prohibition; not conservation, but development of natural resources; a scientific tariff-adjustment commission; and an industrial commission with power to end strikes. Among other issues are a foreign policy free from vacillation, and also equal suffrage. According to the Leadville *Herald-Democrat*, the slogan is "America for Americans," and it urges the passing of laws, if necessary, more effectually "to consolidate the United States into a nation, and not a collection of immigrants." The Grand Junction *News*, in addition to the tariff and defense question, puts in a plea for the "prevention of the sale of ammunition to any warring country that prevents America's products from going overseas to neutral nations."

Of different mind is the La Junta *Tribune*, which names Theodore Roosevelt as the issue and as its first and second choice, and tells us the Progressives will rejoin the Republican party, as it hopes Colonel Roosevelt will. Colonel Roosevelt receives one more first mention in Colorado, where Senator Borah gets 3, Elihu Root 1, and Justice Hughes 2. Other candidates proposed are Senator Cummins, Myron T. Herriek, William Howard Taft, Congressman Mann, ex-Senator Burton, Senator Sherman, Nicholas Murray Butler, Governor Johnson, of California; Governor Whitman, of New York, and "any good standpat Republican." The latter suggestion emanates from an editor who says the Progressives are "dead" in his vicinity.

New Mexico

To the south of Colorado, in New Mexico, Elihu Root has first mention once, as has also Justice Hughes; but Mr. Root receives two second mentions and Congressman Mann one. The Albuquerque *Journal* (Ind. Rep.) picks President Wilson first to run on a platform of "Americanism," and says there is hardly any likelihood of a third party in 1916. Most of the Progressives will go over to the Republicans and some to the Democrats. The Silver City *Enterprise* agrees that the Progressives have all come back to the Republican

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fold, and it would wage war on the present Administration's "foreign policy of vacillation, the tariff, and the extravagance of the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses."

Arizona

In Arizona we find that the Flagstaff *Coconino Sun* makes the issue the tariff and "Democratic incompetency," while it tells us also that according to the statement of their own leaders the Progressive movement is dead in Arizona. This journal gives Senator Sherman as first and Elihu Root as second choice for the nomination. The Tucson *Citizen* names respectively ex-Senator Burton and Justice Hughes, and the Prescott *Journal-Miner*, Senator Weeks and ex-Senator Burton, altho it confesses that it really has no particular choice. Both these papers state the tariff as the issue and tell us also that the Progressives will rejoin the old party.

Nevada

Passing in a northerly direction through Nevada we hear again, but from the Elko *Free Press*, that the Progressives have fused with the old party. The choice of nominee is first Justice Hughes and second Senator Borah. The issue is the tariff, and this journal adds for our information that "Nevada is feeling business depression now more than at any time, and the defeat of Senator Pittman (Dem.) is a foregone conclusion, owing to the dissatisfaction with the present national Administration."

Utah

In the adjoining State of Utah, the Salt Lake *Tribune* informs us that the campaign will be fought on the "tariff, Mexico, and the war," and mentions Elihu Root as first choice and former vice-President Fairbanks or ex-President Taft as second. As to the Progressives, says *The Tribune*, they maintain an organization, but the individuals are drifting back into the Republican party rapidly. So observes also the Logan *Republican*, which would favor first Elihu Root and second Henry Ford on the tariff platform; while, with Senator Borah first and Senator Sherman second on this prosperity issue, the Park City *Record* observes:

"There will be no 'independent' or Progressive ticket in this section. The Progressives are now ardent Republicans, patiently waiting to cast their votes with the 'overwhelming majority' for a Republican President, no matter who he may be or from what State he hails."

Wyoming

The word from Wyoming on the latter point as it comes through the Cheyenne *Wyoming Tribune* is that "we must nominate a Republican, but a man who understands the significance of the Progressive protest in 1912—a candidate who takes nothing for granted and knows that 'the world do move.'" Nearly all the Progressives have come back, *The Tribune* adds, and it names as its first choice for the nomination Justice Hughes and as second Senator Cummins or Borah on a platform as follows: "The tariff; the unsettled Mexican situation; Federal aid to public highways; preparedness and international arbitration; regulation of trusts and labor-unions with a view to curb over-capitalization and the waste of strikes."

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Montana

Crossing the line into Montana, we learn from the *Billings Gazette* that the platform will be "protection for the American producer, manufacturer, and workingman by an adequate tariff, representing at least the difference in cost of production at home and abroad," while it selects for candidate "the choice of the convention." This journal tells us, moreover, that through eastern Montana nearly all the Progressives have come back to the fold of Republicanism.

Idaho

In Idaho, our next stop, we find the favorite-son State of the Far West. Its senior senator, William E. Borah, is the first choice for Presidential honors of 18 out of 20 editors. As one puts it, "big-hearted, big-brained Bill Borah is the man of the hour and the party's one and best bet." And the *Council Leader*, mindful of its geographical position, says:

"We believe the West has reached a state of development that entitles one of its sons to occupy the Presidential chair. In our present senior Senator we find a man fully competent for the position, a man who understands the needs of both the East and the West. He is the greatest statesman in the West and has few equals in the United States."

The two Idaho journals that do not select Senator Borah name Elihu Root and Justice Hughes. The possibilities as second choice are: ex-Senator Burton, ex-President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt, Justice Hughes, Elihu Root, Joseph G. Cannon. One feature of importance in the candidacy of Senator Borah, as various Idaho journals view it, is that he will weld the Republicans and Progressives together. Most of the latter have come back, says the *Cœur d'Alene Press*, and with a man of Senator Borah's type to head the ticket Idaho would assuredly be Republican. He is progressive, a protectionist, and has the record of loyalty to Republican principles, which gives him a large following. On the other hand the *Cœur d'Alene Journal*, while telling us that most of the Progressives have returned to the fold, adds that those who still stay out claim they will keep up their organization and put a national and State ticket in the field. For the Republican nomination it mentions Senator Borah first, and says:

"If Borah were not a candidate the Idaho vote in the national convention probably would be cast for a strong Middle-West or Eastern leader. Burton possibly would have the best chance, or possibly Root. The Idaho sentiment is progressive to a certain extent, but the sentiment for a candidate of wide knowledge of national affairs—a large and capable leader—is the first consideration with the rank and file of Idaho Republicans, as well as of the party leaders."

The *Idaho Falls Post* assures us that Senator Borah is the strongest man who could be nominated because, as stated above, he would unite the party, and it adds that the future action of the Progressives depends very largely on the wisdom or the foolishness of those in control of the Republican party. "If the party is wise and conciliatory the Progressives will reaffiliate. If not, the Republicans will have lesson No. 2 ad-



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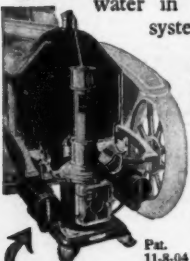
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ministered." Thus, altho the majority of the editors here represented say that the Progressive party has collapsed in Idaho, or that if it attempts to run a State ticket it will not have votes enough to affect either of the old parties, Progressive feeling is seemingly still running pretty strong. For instance, the editor of the Nampa *Leader-Herald* tells us that if the Republicans put up a Progressive man the Progressives will mostly return to the fold; otherwise they will run an independent ticket, and this informant continues: "I am not guided by my personal desires in saying this, for I am known as an old-line Republican or standpatter. I am just giving it to you as it looks to me." In like tones speaks the editor of the Weiser *Signal*, who observes:

"A great majority of those who bolted in 1912, and half of those who did not bolt, believed President Taft had betrayed us into the hands of a national plunderbund, and even if Colonel Roosevelt had remained in the wilds of Africa nothing could have saved his Presidential protégé from an ignominious defeat."

By way of contrast we quote from the *Malad City Enterprise* the statement that with President Wilson renominated, as appears likely, there is "no man equal to Mr. Taft to run against him."

On the question of platform, as is the case in other States, we find the tariff to be the foremost issue. Again, some join with it such matters as defensive preparedness, Government control of monopoly, a foreign policy of vigor, not vacillation, repudiation of the Administration's Philippine policy, the crushing of the spoils system, Democratic extravagance and inefficiency, and the establishment of a merchant marine. On the latter point the *Wood River Times* reminds us that there is not an American vessel to be seen on the Pacific Ocean; while the *Hollister Herald* would wage the campaign on the issue of "increased Federal control and regulation of 'big business' as opposed to the Democratic policy," and the *Emmett Index* would have "a more progressive policy along many of the lines advocated by Roosevelt and his associates."

Washington

We have now reached the Coast, and, beginning with the State of Washington, learn from the *Spokane Chronicle* the following disinterested information:

"As a non-partizan paper it would hardly be right for *The Chronicle* to express preferences as to the nominee or the issue to be chosen by the Republicans. Borah has many supporters here; Weeks has friends; Cummins also; Hughes has ardent admirers—but no real crystallization of sentiment among Washington Republicans is apparent up to this time. . . . Signs point strongly to the nomination of at least a 'skeleton' Progressive ticket in this State and county in 1916. It is doubtful if all the places on the ticket will be filled or if any serious attempt will be made to wage an aggressive campaign. Many Progressive leaders of 1912 are already looking forward to a fight for places on the regular Republican ticket next year—as Poindexter for Senator and 'Bob' Hodge for Governor. But it is considered a safe prediction that the Progressive party will make at least a formal reappearance in the field."

Other observers advise us that the matter is in doubt, with the added remark that most of the leaders are prepared to go into the party which looks like a winner—whatever it happens to be. Even if there should be a third ticket, the *Walla Walla Union* informs us, it will not "cut much ice," and that with the announcement of Senator Poindexter, "lone Progressive in the upper house of Congress," that he is to be candidate for reelection as a Republican, the "waning hopes of the Bull Moosers went pretty much to smash." The *Colville Statesman-Index*, the *Sumas News*, the *Chehalis Bee-Nugget*, and others state that the Progressives have gone back to the Republican party. On the other hand, we are advised by the *Ellensburg Record* that if a strong Progressive Republican candidate is nominated, the Progressives will probably return to the Republican party, but that if a reactionary man is named it is not probable that Washington will prove Republican.

As a candidate fit to meet the situation in the party this journal puts Senator Cummins first and Senator Borah second. But Justice Hughes has three first mentions in this State and one second, while others named are ex-Senator Burton, ex-President Taft, Elihu Root, and Congressman Mann. The *Walla Walla Union*, which places Justice Hughes first, gives Senator Borah as second choice, altho it realizes that "on account of geographical considerations he is out of it." As to the issue, this journal says it is the tariff once again, and especially if the war in Europe should end before the campaign is under way. Various other journals also fix upon the tariff, and some would include as well preparedness. As to the latter the *Seattle Argus* observes: "The Coast favors armament, but it is hard to become enthusiastic on an empty stomach." Another secondary issue is the Panama Canal tolls.

Oregon

Moving southward into Oregon we are told by the *Portland Oregonian* that the issue is military preparedness and the tariff, and that its choice of candidates is the nominee of the convention "provided he is not a reactionary." As for the Progressives, *The Oregonian* says they "cut no figure." Except a few who are officially connected with the party, they have come back to the Republicans. Other journals also inform us that the Progressives have returned or will return to the fold, altho, as the *Eugene Register* says, confirming the *Oregonian's* statement, "there are a few leaders left who feel that they can not consistently return, but a general with no privates is a poor fighting unit." Nevertheless the *Marshfield Coos Bay Times* calls attention to the fact that while the Progressives are tending to go back, they will balk if the radical conservatives, the old-time standpatters, are in control.

The issue of 1916, according to this journal, is Peace, and it argues that "preparedness for war fosters the war-spirit and eventually leads to war. The West wants peace." The *Oregon* contemporaries of this journal, however, are more interested in the protective tariff as an issue to offset the treasury deficit and "war-tax." Concerning candidates, the *Salem Statesman* has no choice to express for anybody more definite than "the best man." Justice Hughes receives first mention from three editors, ex-President Taft and Senator Cummins one from each,

Senator Borah, ex-Senator Burton, and Senator La Follette are each named once.

California

No sooner do we get into California than we realize that the questions of candidate and platform are overshadowed by the problem of Progressivism. In this State the Progressive party is in power, we are reminded by the *Fresno Republican*, and it arrived there by "a revolutionary capture of the Republican organization and nominations, through the direct primary in 1910. We have, therefore, already been victorious and expect again to be victorious by the new non-partizan method. We are, therefore, equipped to do our part in whatever course Eastern progressives may adopt—conditioned always absolutely on the understanding that if it is a 'Republican' ticket we are expected to support, it must be a Republicanism which is uncompromisingly progressive in candidates, platform, and organization." Since this was written, at an election held on October 26, a group of laws was submitted to the voters of California. "One of these," the *San Francisco Chronicle* points out, "was designed to do away with political parties. It was rejected by a large majority. The impression is general that the rejection of the measure sounded the death-knell of the Progressive party in California." And Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, writes: "Hiram Johnson, the Progressive Pretender, sustained a solar-plexus blow in the latest popular vote." The Progressives are not likely to run an independent ticket, according to Mr. Otis, who adds: "Their leaders will indicate with grimaces their dislike of 'crow,' but the rank and file will 'line up' with the Old Guard." California Progressives, observes the *San Bernardino Sun*, "still think they will do to the nation what they have done to California—Mexicanize its policies."

To consider the status of the Progressives by figures, we find that 14 out of 42 California editors report them as disappearing. Some go into the Republican, some into the Democratic, and about one-quarter of them into the Socialist party, according to the *Healdsburg Scimitar*. From the *Whittier News* we hear that the Progressives will follow Governor Johnson's lead in that district, and the editor adds: "Personally I know of many individual cases where a once rabid Progressive will now vote for a wooden Indian if the Republican party honors it with a nomination." While 11 editors say the Progressives are fading away, there are 10 who insist that they will run an independent ticket. How evenly opinion seems to be divided is evidenced in the statement of the *Pomona Review* that the Progressives have largely died away since the election of October 26, and that of the *Pomona Progress*, which claims that the Progressive victory in California last fall (1914) leads the Progressives to believe that California has "renounced the Republican party for all time."

Above we have seen the *Fresno Republican* condition the return of the Progressives to the Republican fold on the understanding that the candidate, platform, and organization must be of progressive character. A similar idea is held by 11 out of our total of 42 California editors, altho they do not all express it in the same way. For instance, the *Tulare Register* speaks of the Progressives as

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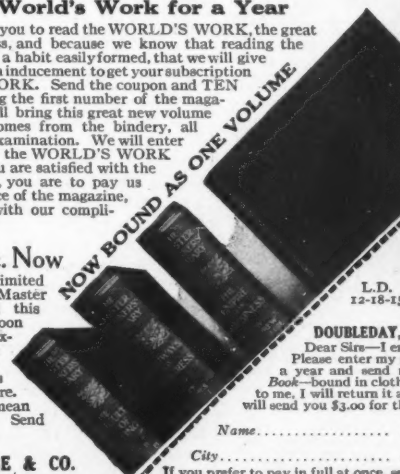
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"watchfully waiting and inclined to go back" if the platform and candidate are of the right sort. But the *Lakeport Bee* says that "the question of reunion of the Republican and Progressive parties lies mainly with the Republicans." Summing up the situation, the *Portersville Messenger* informs us that while the Progressive party in California is stronger probably than in other States because the political machinery of the State is in its hands, yet, owing to the general depression in business, Republicans of all shades of political opinion realize the necessity of working for a triumph of Republican principles, and it adds that "personal partyism is no longer popular."

As to the candidate, the strictly Republican *San Francisco Chronicle* asks only for "a sound Protectionist" with protection for his platform, while the *Los Angeles Times* would couple "America First" with protection and names Elihu Root first choice and Senator Sherman second. The Senator from Illinois receives only this mention in California, where other possible candidates run as follows: Elihu Root, 13; Senator Borah, 8; Justice Hughes, 8; Governor Johnson, 7; Colonel Roosevelt, 6; Senator Cummins, 6; ex-President Taft, 6; President Wilson, 4. Others mentioned are Congressman Mann, Senator La Follette, ex-Ambassador Herrick; Governor Willis, of Ohio; former Vice-President Fairbanks, ex-Senator Beveridge, Henry Ford, Major-General Goethals, and Governor Whitman. Some journals think it too early yet to state their preference and feel they would rather wait for "a full-sized man to show his head in the offing." A side-light on the availability of Governor Johnson is afforded in the remark of the *Long Beach Telegram* that altho it has opposed him "in the interests of harmony," still it would like to see him nominated for Vice-President.

The platform for the Republican candidate, say 28 editors, is a protective tariff. Preparedness, mentioned by 9, is next in prominence. Other issues stated are: The Administration's foreign policy; the abolition of the war-tax; the Panama-Canal tolls; a square deal for big business; economy in the national Government; the merchant marine; progressivism; the Monroe Doctrine; the socialization of industrial activities; America's attitude in the war, and real neutrality. The editor of the *Corona Courier* speaks out in meeting to the voters on candidates and issue as follows:

"I am heartily sick of Roosevelt and his noisy talk; Taft is proving a better man out of office than in; Wilson deserves credit for many things, but there are a few suggestions going the rounds out here in the West that his opposition from Wall Street in 1916 will not be very pronounced owing to the fact that the big loan went through so very easily with not a word from Washington. In harmony with strict neutrality we can hardly see how he could have avoided entering a protest.

"The issue should not be that old ghost of an issue, the tariff, but rather a return to a truly business administration, run on business principles, with a view of getting the greatest returns for the money spent. All this talk of a greater Army and Navy is pure buncombe, and the Administration should be big enough to see the hidden graft. If only the people would do a little thinking for themselves and not let the big dailies do it all!"

CURRENT EVENTS

EUROPEAN WAR

IN THE BALKANS

November 30.—In Montenegro the Austrians capture Plevlje and take Jabuka in northern Novibazar.

December 1.—Monastir surrenders to the Bulgarians. Roumania mines the Danube, closing the river both to the Russians and the Bulgars.

December 3.—The Entente Allies reject Greece's proposal that the details of Allied freedom of action in Macedonia and in Greek waters be left to a commission formed of the General Staffs of the Allied and Greek armies.

The Franco-British line, which runs from east of Strumitsa through Krivolak, to the Crna River, holds fast.

December 7.—In Montenegro the Austrian forces reach a point fifteen miles within the borders, in the neighborhood of Plevlje; to the south, above Berane, they are attacking the Montenegrin main positions. Further south, it is claimed, the Austrians force their way into Ipek. In the southeastern corner, the Bulgarians take Djakova.

December 8.—Indications are that the Allied forces are compelled to retreat from Krivolak to Demir Kapou. Part of the Serbian Army is said to have reached Epirus, in Greece.

GENERAL

November 30.—Small gains are claimed by Constantinople on Gallipoli, near Anafarta and Sedd-el-Bahr. Turkish successes are reported also in the Van region in the Caucasus, with the retirement of the enemy. In Mesopotamia, Turkey announces, the British troops are in full flight southward.

December 1.—Premier Asquith announces the total British casualties both naval and military, from the beginning of the war to November 9, to equal 510,230.

It is announced in the Italian Parliament that Italy has signed an agreement with the other Allies not to make a separate peace. Foreign Minister Sonnino also pledges Italy's aid in the Balkans. Blizzards impede operations against Austria. Vienna reports Italian repulses at Oslavia and Monte San Michele, with the partial destruction of an Italian force near San Martino.

December 3.—Rome describes two heavy Austrian attacks in the region west of Lake Garda, which gain a foothold, but are finally routed.

December 4.—Heavy rains hinder action all along the Western front. Patrol encounters are reported in Artois, France, and lively mining at other points.

London announces advices from Mesopotamia to the effect that while General Townshend's forces were forced back over 100 miles to Kut-el-Amara, the retreat was orderly and with little loss. Two river boats had to be abandoned. The total casualties of this campaign are given at 4,567; Turkish prisoners taken, at 1,600. Constantinople still insists the British are fleeing desperately toward Basra (Bassorah), suffering great loss. Treachery of Arab tribesmen is given as the reason for the British failure. On the Caucasian front, the Turks are in flight along the southern shores of Lake Van.

December 5.—German dispatches describe a Russian repulse southwest of Lake Babit, west of Riga. Russian reports indicate a renewal of German activities in the Dvinsk region, from "Borskoy village" to Illuxt, on the Dwina.

Constantinople claims that the British forces are driven out of Kut-el-Amara, in Mesopotamia, and forced to take to boats in the river.

December 7.—In the Champagne district, near Berry-au-Bac, says Berlin, a large mine-explosion wins a French trench. Over 800 feet of another French advance is captured east of Auberive, near Reims. Belgian and French artillery endeavor to dislodge the Germans from Hetsas. Fresh inundations in the Yser region embarrass the Germans.

North of Monte San Michele, on the Isonzo front, the Italians capture a fort and large entrenchment near Peteano, penetrating the Austrian lines.

GENERAL FOREIGN

December 5.—In a revolutionary outbreak at Shanghai rebels seize the war-ship *Chao-ho* and open fire on other war-ships and the arsenal. The Chinese Government later reports that altho the Governor of Shanghai is killed, the mutiny is dispersed, without sequel.

December 6.—The Spanish Cabinet resigns through a dispute on the priority of economic measures over military.

DOMESTIC

December 2.—A verdict of guilty is rendered against Dr. Karl Buezn and three other Hamburg-American officials in the United States District Court, on the charge of conspiring to defraud the United States by falsely obtaining clearance papers for German war-ship supply-ships. They are sentenced to one and one-half years' imprisonment.

December 3.—The immediate recall of Captain Boy-Ed and Captain von Papien, the naval and military attachés of the German Embassy, is demanded by our Government, on the ground of "improper activities in military and naval matters."

In Chicago the grand jury finds a total of 2,484 indictments against 54 labor-men, who are accused of being crooked business agents of the labor-unions.

December 4.—The *Oscar II.*, chartered by Henry Ford, sails for Europe with 83 peace-workers aboard.

Baron George Wilhelm von Brincken, Attaché of the German Consulate in San Francisco, is arrested on a charge of heading a dynamite squad to destroy American munitions-plants.

December 6.—Germany calls on the United States for an explanation of the demand for the recall of Boy-Ed and von Papien. Secretary Lansing's reply substantially reiterates his former demand.

The Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States convenes. Estimates for the Wilson defense-program, placed before it, reach \$152,354,259 for the Army and \$211,518,074 for the Navy.

December 7.—The President reads his annual address before Congress, advocating "full partnership between the nations of the western hemisphere," preparedness for "permanent security," the punishment of conspiring "hyphenates" or aliens within our borders, a Government-owned merchant marine, revenue measures, legislation benefiting the Philippines and Porto Rico, inquiry into the railroad laws, and laws giving Federal aid to industrial and vocational education.

December 8.—Our Government demands from Austria in a sharp note a disavowal of the *Ancona* sinking, reparation, assurance the affair will not be repeated, and punishment of those responsible.

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THE American people are born travelers. They must travel. It's in their blood. The restless spirit of Western civilization demands movement. "Anywhere but here," the slogan of European tourists, may be almost applied to continually moving hosts at home, ever looking for new scenes and untrodden byways. We come by this spirit naturally, for was not America discovered and peopled by travelers, adventurers, and seekers after new and strange lands? Their mantle has fallen upon later generations, and mixed with the influx of foreign immigration whose very coming has denoted an ambition for new sights. We are to-day standing before the world in the character of a nation of travelers.

The average American considers his travel-record much in the same light as his collection of stamps or coins, and adds items thereto from time to time in the hope of ultimately reaching the supreme goal—a perfect collection, a travel-record that shall embrace the world. No man ever has reached, or probably ever will reach, the summit of his ambition, but the aim is none the less noteworthy. Unfortunately our countrymen have been far too prone hitherto to cast their eyes eastward to Europe, leaving America to come last or, as often happens, leaving it alone to the end.

But the typical American will not cease traveling even tho deprived of his beloved Europe. If east he can not go, he will travel west, or south, or north, and therein lies the tale of America's new travel-impetus. For America was for many first discovered in 1915—discovered by her own people and brought forth into a lime-light of publicity that future enticements from the Old World will not dim. Having been discovered, the year 1916 will see her explored and exploited to a degree beyond the hopes of the most ardent "See America First" enthusiast. The European War has meant great things for America, not primarily in the sale of war-munitions and food-products, or the establishment of the dollar-basis of currency, but in forcing us to see our own country and a little something of its wonderful scenery, its vast agricultural domain, and its gigantic manufacturing facilities. One year of it serves to increase

a desire for more and to convince one that travel-opportunities in America are well-nigh inexhaustible.

Americans have learned the true meaning of travel comforts, for nowhere in the world have travel and its accessories received such scientific study and complete development as in this country. Comfort, convenience, promptness, and safety have been brought to a highly developed plane, almost approaching perfection. Henceforth the facilities provided for American travel will serve as a gauge wherewith to measure the efficiency of foreign service.

During the past year California and the West were the goal of the majority of

He who through good fortune or good management can enjoy the luxuries of



ANCIENT CLIFF-DWELLING NEAR THE MODERN ROOSEVELT DAM IN ARIZONA.



ON THE AVENIDA CENTRAL, RIO DE JANEIRO.

travelers, due largely to the expositions at San Diego and San Francisco. During the

coming year travel bids fair to spread more evenly to all portions of the country, as well as to outlying dependencies and near-by neighbors. Last year the Mediterranean still drew its quota, but the entrance of Italy into the war and increased war-activities in the Levant and toward Egypt have left Spain the only Mediterranean country free from the grip of Mars. While the field for travel has been narrowed, the home outlook has been broadened.

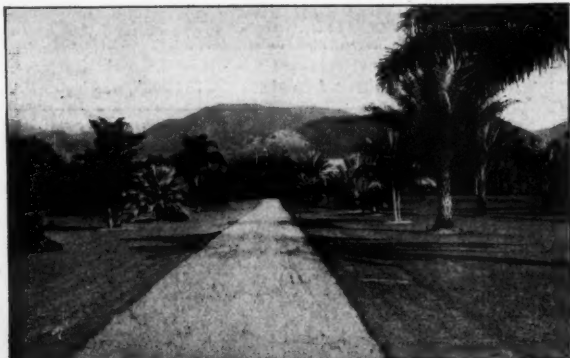
winter travel is thrice blest, because the facilities for travel in winter are better than at other seasons. Travelers from our northern regions may escape the rigors of winter when he journeys to a section of the country with a more equable climate, and where vegetation of a tropical or semi-tropical region will delight his soul. For the winter traveler, resorts in some of the best parts of America have their best season. A brief survey will be attempted of some of the goals for winter travelers, with an outline of the ways by which they may be reached most comfortably and advantageously.

CALIFORNIA

One year ago the eyes of travelers in the non-combatant world were turned expectantly and hopefully to California. Two expositions were in process of building. On them rested largely the ambitions and aspirations of thousands whose hopes were centered in that meritorious movement having the familiar slogan—"See America First." Did these expositions come up to the standard set for them? Did they prove an honor, not only to the State of California that produced them, but to the whole United States, which fostered and patronized them? Ask any one whose privilege it was to gaze on that Tower of Jewels or stand in that Court of the Four Seasons at San Francisco, or stroll of an evening along the exquisite Prado at San Diego.

The Panama-Pacific Exposition is no more. Save for the beautiful Fine Arts Building, which will remain open for a few months, the gorgeous spectacle is only a memory. Not so, however, with the fascinating Exposition at San Diego, for a movement recently set on foot resulted in a decision to keep it open until October, 1916. Not only that, but the exhibits will be amplified by numerous additions from the San Francisco Exposition. The expositions, after all, were only typical of the beauty of California and of what California has accomplished. Whether the expositions live or die, the wonders of the Golden State remain.

The routes to and from California are many and embrace diversified opportunities for sightseeing. The Eastern



ONE OF JAMAICA'S SPLENDID DRIVES BORDERED BY TROPICAL VEGETATION.

traveler may journey via New Orleans and the Southern Pacific, or he may take Chicago, St. Louis, or Memphis as his gateway to the West, selecting one of several delightful routes across the plains and the Great Divide. If time is a consideration, the "Overland Limited" of the Chicago and Northwestern, Union Pacific, and Southern Pacific lines will land him in San Francisco sixty-five hours after leaving Chicago. By this route also one may connect at Ogden with the Salt Lake Route southwest to Los Angeles and Southern California, taking the "Los Angeles Limited," or the "Pacific Limited" (via the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul from Chicago to Omaha), or northwestward from Ogden over the Oregon Short Line and Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company to Portland, Tacoma, and Seattle. The "Oregon-Washington Limited" and the "Portland-Puget Sound Express" (C. M. & St. P. to Omaha) cover this route. The "San Francisco Limited," and "California Mail," each over the Northwestern Line, or the "Pacific Limited," over the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul routes from Chicago to Omaha, cover the same route as the "Overland Limited."

For those who wish to pierce the heart of the American Rockies and view some of the finest scenery on the continent the Denver & Rio Grande offers an optional route via Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, the Royal Gorge of the Arkansas River, Tennessee Pass, and Salt Lake City. The journey may be continued to San Francisco, via Ogden and the Southern Pacific, or via the Western Pacific through Feather River Cañon. Through trains from Denver are run via the latter route, notably the "Pacific Coast Limited" and the "Scenic Limited." Connections may be also made at Salt Lake City southwest to Los Angeles, or northwest to Portland and Seattle. The Colorado Midland operates a scenic route over the Rockies from Denver through Colorado Springs and Glenwood Springs, connecting at Grand Junction with the Denver & Rio Grande.

Those who wish to visit Portland, Tacoma, or Seattle before proceeding southward to San Francisco have several optional routes. The Northern Pacific from St. Paul to Portland has direct connections from Chicago via the Northwestern, St. Paul, or Burlington lines. The principal through trains from Chicago to Portland over this route are the "North Coast Limited" (via Chicago and Northwestern), the "Northern Pacific Express" (via the Burlington), and the "Puget Sound Limited" from St. Louis and Kansas City, via Burlington Line to Billings, Montana, and thence over the Northern Pacific to Portland. From Portland the Shasta Route via the Southern Pacific Railway leads south to San Francisco.

"The Olympian" and "The Columbian" trains are operated by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul on its own through lines from Chicago to Seattle and Tacoma; also to Portland via Spokane by Oregon R.R. and Navigation lines. The Great Northern from St. Paul operates the "Oriental Limited" and the "Glacier Park Limited" to Portland and Vancouver, the connection from Chicago being by the Burlington Route, and the "Great Northern Express" from St. Louis and Kansas City, via Burlington to Billings, Montana, and thence on the Great Northern Railway westward.

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The traveler via Chicago or St. Louis who wishes a southern route with low altitudes may choose the Rock Island or Santa Fé roads. The "Golden State Limited" runs between Chicago and St. Louis and Santa Rosa, New Mexico, by the Rock Island Lines, and thence by the El Paso and Southwestern Route to Tucson, Arizona, and the Southern Pacific to Los Angeles and San Francisco. The "Californian" covers the same route to El Paso, which goes thence by the Southern Pacific. The Rock Island Lines operate through sleepers from Chicago to San Francisco via the Rock Island to Denver, the Denver & Rio Grande to Salt Lake City, and the Western Pacific or Southern Pacific (from Ogden) to San Francisco.

Here in the Middle West, just beyond the Mississippi, the great Missouri Pacific System, well equipped for southern travel, has added another fast train, "The Sunshine Special," between St. Louis, San Antonio, also Galveston, Houston, and intermediate points, and its neighbor, the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway, has followed suit by adding a new steel train for its route between St. Louis, Kansas City, and Texas.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railway is the only line having its own tracks from Chicago all the way to Southern California and San Francisco. The "Grand Cañon Line," as it is known, operates the "California Limited," "The Overland," "The Navajo," and "The Missionary" daily, and a de luxe extra-fare train every Tuesday during the winter months. The route is via Kansas City and La Junta, Colorado, where connection is made from Denver and Colorado Springs for those who prefer a journey through Colorado before proceeding to the Pacific Coast, going thence in a southwesterly direction to Albuquerque, Williams, Los Angeles, and San Diego or San Francisco. The journey may be broken as often as desired. If one is really to see the Great Southwest several stops should be made. Santa Fé, which lies a short distance off the main line, is one of America's centers of history. Here was an outpost of civilization three hundred years ago, in days when the eastern shores of the continent were first being sighted by European adventurers. Here De Vargas and his little band of Spaniards established a miniature court,

with the governor's palace the center of social and political activities. Centuries before these Spanish invaders founded Santa Fé as we know it to-day an almost unknown race peopled these plateaus and built houses whose remains are still to be seen. No town in the United States can look back upon an ancestry more remote or diversified than Santa Fé.

At Albuquerque one is in the midst of the Pueblo region of New Mexico. In bygone ages a people whose origin is lost settled here, built peculiar groups of brick buildings, many of them high up on cliffs in locations inaccessible to-day excepting to the most adventurous of mountaineers. Others, living in more accessible dwellings, have come down to us as the Pueblo Indians of the present day, a curious and mysterious race deeply swathed in superstition.

The lover of the curious and unique should stop over a day or two at Adamana for excursions to the Petrified Forests and the Painted Desert. In the Petrified Forests are fallen giants of other days that were formerly covered by the waters of an inland sea. In due course of time nature transformed these monarchs of the vegetable kingdom into huge blocks of stone in form identical with the original trees. Thousands of acres of a rocky forest now lie scattered here. The Painted Desert affords a wealth of coloring unbelievable until actually seen.

At Williams a branch line, some 64 miles in length, climbs upward to the brink of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, the most stupendous natural wonder in the world. Nature has here made her supreme effort. For thousands of years the surging river has gnawed its way down into this seemingly bottomless chasm until to-day we see a cañon some thirteen miles wide and a mile in depth from the Rim Road to the surface of the river below. Splendid views may be obtained from the edge of the cañon, but to appreciate the full grandeur of the abyss it is necessary to go down into the cañon itself. The descent is by mule down the Bright Angel Trail, a zigzag road twisting and turning in order to afford animals a safe foothold. Several days should be devoted to the Grand Cañon in order to gain a full realization of its magnificence.

The Santa Fé route branches at Barstow, one line proceeding up through Central California to San Francisco and the other turning southwestward to Riverside and Los Angeles, with a southern extension to San Diego, close to the Mexican border.

The traveler bound for California from New York, or other Eastern points, who wishes to turn his face at once toward the southland and a warmer climate may proceed to New Orleans by water or rail routes, thence by Southern Pacific to Southern California or San Francisco. The Southern Pacific Company operates biweekly (Wednesdays and Saturdays) steamers from New York to New Orleans. The ships are built especially for this coastwise service, and contain all the modern appliances and conveniences that make for ease and comfort.

Passengers choosing the rail route to New Orleans leave New York by the "New York and New Orleans Limited" in the afternoon on the Pennsylvania Railroad and proceed southward to Washington, thence via the Southern Railway and its connections through Atlanta, Montgomery, and Mobile to New Orleans. This curious old Creole city is well worth a

visit of several days. The interest is many times increased if the visit be during Mardi Gras season, which this year comes in March. Hotel accommodations should be reserved for this period well in advance, for great crowds flock to New Orleans for the annual celebration. The "Crescent City" has a French quarter absolutely unique among American cities. The Creole restaurants of the city are justly famed.

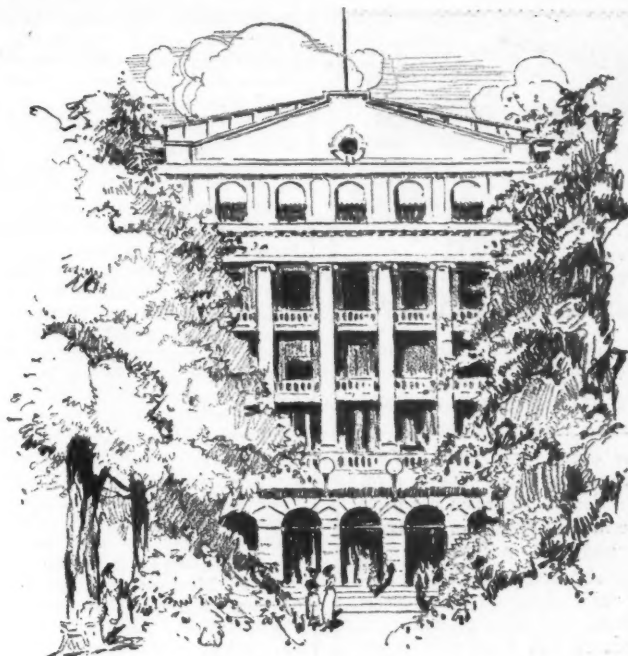
Travelers desiring to make a side trip from here to Panama with stops at Havana or some of the Central-American ports may take one of the steamers of the United Fruit Company, which operates three different weekly services to Panama and Central America. Now that the Panama Canal is temporarily closed to through traffic from New York to San Francisco, this side-excursion has become very popular.

Owing to the temporary closing of the Panama Canal the managers of the Panama Pacific Steamship Line announce that their service between New York and San Francisco is discontinued *pro tem.*, but will be resumed soon as conditions will warrant.

Westward from New Orleans the Southern Pacific has a service over its own rails to the Pacific Coast. The "Sunset Limited" and "Sunset Express" have through cars to California destinations. The journey may be broken at Houston (with opportunity for side-trip to Galveston). Continuing from Houston, San Antonio, and El Paso, the latter on the extreme point where Texas passes on to New Mexico the arduous duties of looking after our belligerent neighbors across the Rio Grande. Those who wish a pleasant diversion from sleeper and day-train rides may change cars at Bowie and proceed up the branch line to Globe. After a night's rest in the hotel one may step into an automobile and journey over the famous Apache Trail, 120 miles to Phoenix. Were the ride over this historic road past Casa Grande, the oldest house in America, the only attraction, the detour would be voted a success, but fortune has added another inducement—the Roosevelt Dam. A few years ago the wonderful irrigation-opportunities of Salt River were realized, and during the administration of President Roosevelt the dam which bears his name was dedicated and thousands of acres of arid land reclaimed. The first necessity was a substantial wagon-road to railroad stations, and the present automobile road along the old Apache Trail was the result. The dam not only stores water to a distance of fifteen miles up Salt River, but the water-power is used for generating a current to provide power for irrigation-pumping. At Phoenix another night in a hotel gives one a good rest for the remaining rail journey to California.

The first stop is generally at Riverside, where one finds the far-famed hotel built on the style of the old California Missions, where every guest feels the charm of something different and longs to stay.

Some travelers prefer to remain at one of the excellent hotels in Los Angeles during their visit to the City of the Angels, while others run out by trolley, nine miles, to delightful Pasadena, which boasts of having more millionaires to its population than any other city in the country. From either place most enjoyable excursions may be made. The ocean beaches, nine miles or so from Los Angeles, are an ever-



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present source of pleasure. Santa Monica, Long Beach, and Venice each has its particular charm while other less-known resorts are often fully enjoyable. An excursion to Santa Catalina Island is generally included in a visit to Los Angeles. Daily steamer service from the mainland permits of the trip in one day. For those whose delight is big fishing the opportunities here are unsurpassed.

Once more the traveler turns southward for a four-hour trip to San Diego. He who has not seen here the beautiful collection of old mission structures, with their gentle tints and elaborate surroundings, can not appreciate his good fortune in having the exposition kept open during the greater part of 1916. In Balboa Park, appropriately named for the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean, in whose honor the exposition was built, we find over six hundred acres of as interesting and fascinating buildings, grounds, and exhibits as can be well grouped together in one small area. The whole is really a walled city of the fifteenth century, its architecture combining the palaces of the ancient Moors with the old Mexican cathedrals, all blended into what may be called a Spanish-Colonial style. All honor be to San Diego, which, with scarcely 40,000 inhabitants, dared to undertake this wonderful exposition.

San Diego itself has several environs of interest that are well worth a visit. Out on Point Loma one obtains the best view of the harbor and coast contour of San Diego and on the road thither sees the splendid estate of the late A. G. Spalding. At La Jolla there are tropical gardens and interesting caves. Over across the bay is Coronado Beach, a curious sand-spit jutting out from the coast of northern Mexico and forming the harbor of San Diego. On this peninsula are hundreds of cottages as well as a tent colony, a bathing establishment, and an immense hotel. Less than two hours' automobile or trolley ride to the southward is Tia Juana, a sleepy old Mexican town just over the international border-line.

From Los Angeles northward to San Francisco there is a choice of four routes—the steamer trip, the rail trip by the coast-line of the Southern Pacific, and the inland rail routes of the Southern Pacific or Santa Fé, past the entrance of the Yosemite Valley. Most travelers prefer the rail-coast trip, reserving the Yosemite for the return journey, or taking it as a side-trip from San Francisco. The first stop of importance north of Los Angeles on the coast-line is Santa Barbara. In the middle of the eighteenth century Father Junipera Serra journeyed afoot up and down this coast time after time from San Diego on the south to Sonoma, above San Francisco, on the north, establishing missions a day's journey apart and converting and baptizing the Indians along this route. Shame be to these later days that practically all of these missions, twenty-one in number, should have been allowed to fall into decay and ruin. The one at Santa Barbara is the best preserved of all and well merits a visit. The situation of Santa Barbara on the shore of the Pacific is delightful. The surroundings, resplendent in flowers and tropical vegetation, are a joy to the tourist, or to him who can remain for a time and enjoy the old mission town. The stretch of coast-line northward from Santa Barbara is perhaps the most picturesque along the Pacific Coast.

At Paso Robles is a famous health resort with healing hot springs.

No traveler to California misses Del Monte if he can help himself. Scenically it is infatigable. The marvelous landscape gardening surrounding the Hôtel del Monte is a wonder in itself. The famous Seventeen Mile Drive along the coast comes fully up to its reputation. Historically, Del Monte's neighbor, Monterey, is California's Mekka. Here was the first capital of the State, the town having been an important center in Mexican days. Curious old buildings abound on every side. A few miles down the coast, at the old Carmel Mission, lie the bones of the saintly Father Junipera Serra.

The traveler with the time at his disposal should not fail to drop off at Big Trees for a few hours to view at close hand these grand old monarchs of the forest. At San José one can take automobile for the trip up Mt. Hamilton to see the world-renowned Lick Observatory. A few hours' run from here brings one to the goal of California travelers, San Francisco. The city has literally risen phoenix-like since the disastrous fire and to-day presents an appearance hard to reconcile with the tales of awful destruction that went forth so few years ago. There is plenty in and about San Francisco to keep the visitor busy for many days.

It has often been asked whether the Yosemite Valley is open for tourists in the winter. The Valley may be visited at any time. The hotels and coaching company operate an all-year service. During the winter months, however, it is not possible, owing to snow, to coach over the mountains to Wawona and the Mariposa Grove of big trees. The Southern Pacific and Santa Fé railroads have service from both San Francisco and Los Angeles to Merced, where connection is made with the side-line running to El Portal, the gateway of the valley. From here a coach-line runs twice daily to the Sentinel Hotel in the heart of the valley. Several days should be spent here among some of the most sublime scenery on earth. With El Capitan standing majestic guard over the long narrow valley, and beautiful waterfalls breaking into spray before the water reaches the foot of the precipice, one realizes that praise has not been too highly bestowed on this wonderful gem of nature. Excursions may be made from the hotel to the top of El Capitan, the various waterfalls and other points of interest.

HAWAII

Once the traveler has reached the Pacific Coast it is hard to resist the temptation to continue the westward journey six days longer and visit our charming insular possessions, the Hawaiian Islands. The Matson Line operates a series of steamships from San Francisco on a weekly schedule. The Great Northern Steamship Company has placed one of its new ships, the *Great Northern*, on this service, with sailings every three weeks, the steamer calling at San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, on its outward trip. One may also take a steamer of the Oceanic Steamship Company making a call at Honolulu on its way to New Zealand and Australia, or the Toyo Kisen Kaisha en route to Japan.

Honolulu is the center of life and activity in the islands. The climate is unsurpassed and the social life charming. Excursions

may be made by Matson Line or inter-island steamer to Hilo for a trip to the wonder crater of Kilauea and to Kahului for a trip around the island of Maui.

THE SOUTH SEAS AND JAPAN

Inasmuch as it is summer in the antipodes during our midwinter, there is no more appropriate season for extending the journey southward than now. The Oceanic Steamship Company from San Francisco makes stops at Honolulu, Pago Pago (Samoa), and Sydney. The Union Steamship Company of New Zealand, Ltd., calls at Papeete (Tahiti, Society Islands), Parotonga (Cook Island), Wellington (New Zealand), and Sydney. The Canadian-Australasian Royal Mail operates steamships from Vancouver to Honolulu, Suva (Fiji Islands), Auckland (New Zealand), and Sydney. Short or extended tours may be made through New Zealand, Tasmania, and Australia. The return journey may be made by direct steamer to Manila, Hongkong, and Japan, giving time for a tour through the last-named country. The steamship service from Yokohama eastward across the Pacific is satisfactory, save for the fact that no passenger-vessel flying the American flag is now to be seen. The Toyo Kisen Kaisha has steamers from Hongkong, calling at Manila, Shanghai, Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama, Honolulu, and San Francisco. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha runs to Seattle and the Canadian Pacific Steamship Line to Vancouver.

FASCINATING SOUTH AMERICA

The conference on Mexico of the A. B. C. Ambassadors some months ago and the trade developments of the European War have borne in upon us the unwelcome fact that we know far too little of our neighbors in the great continent to the southward. Travel from the United States to South American countries has been small, and consequently our trade and political relationships have suffered. Times are changing, however, and South America promises at last to come into its own. Excellent arrangements for touring in the southern continent have been made by tourist agencies, and the steamship companies have provided admirable transit facilities. The Lamport & Holt Line has frequent sailings from New York to Barbados, Brazilian ports, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires. The Booth Steamship Company, Ltd., operates steamers from New York to Barbados, north Brazilian ports, and up the Amazon River. The Lloyd Brasileiro runs from New York to Barbados and Brazilian ports, and the Norton Line from New York to Montevideo and Buenos Aires. Some travelers prefer to tour the east coast first and some the west coast. If the east coast is chosen first the itinerary generally includes a few hours at Bahia (Brazil), some days in beautiful Rio de Janeiro, thence overland to São Paulo and Santos, and from there by steamer to Montevideo and Buenos Aires. Side-trips may be made from here up to Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, and to the marvelous Iguazu Falls, five days distant, two by train and three by steamer. Buenos Aires is the metropolis of South America and a city whose advancement in commerce and municipal development will amaze the uninitiated visitor from the North.

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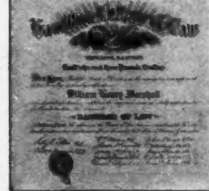
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Every true American wants to visit Panama. The gigantic task of joining the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, which fell to the United States, has been accomplished. Several days should be devoted to a stay on the Isthmus. The steamer service between New York and Panama is frequent and varied. The Panama Railroad Steamship Line operates a line of steamers from New York to Cristobal and through to Panama, when the Canal is open for traffic. The United Fruit Company has two services to New York as well as the two to New Orleans heretofore mentioned.

Special round-trip tickets for the South-American tour outlined above, in either direction, may be purchased, the limit of return being two years. Travelers desiring to visit northern South America can take the Trinidad Line or Royal Dutch West India Mail, also the Red D Line to Porto Rico and Venezuela, or the United Fruit Company to various ports in Colombia—the American Mediterranean.

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The United Fruit Company, as its name implies, touches those ports which supply in large quantities the bananas and other fruit of these tropical countries. "The Great White Fleet," as its ships are known, is made up of a flotilla of stanch, up-to-date steamers, built especially for tropical service. There are three services from New York and three from New Orleans. One group of steamers sailing from New York every Saturday to Havana, Cristobal (Canal Zone), where a two days' stop is made, Bocas del Toro (Canal Zone), Port

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Limon (Costa Rica), where is sufficient time for a journey inland to San José, the capital, return calls at Cristobal and Havana, and back to New York, the round trip being accomplished in twenty-three days. Another service, with sailings every Wednesday, calls at Kingston (Jamaica), Cristobal, Cartagena (Colombia), Puerto Colombia (Colombia), Santa Marta (Colombia), and return calls at Cristobal and Kingston en route for New York, the time being twenty-two days. The third service from New York has steamers on alternate Thursdays to Santiago (Cuba), Port Antonio (Jamaica), Belize (British Honduras), Puerto Barrios (Guatemala), Puerto Cortez (Honduras), Tela (Honduras), Livingston (Guatemala), and return calls at Puerto Barrios, Port Antonio, and Santiago. The time is twenty-five days.

From New Orleans all three services are weekly. One goes on Saturdays to Cristobal, Port Limon, Bocas del Toro, with return call at Cristobal, the time being seventeen days. Other steamers leave on Wednesdays for Havana, Cristobal, Bocas del Toro, and return by Havana in fifteen days. The third service is on Thursdays to Belize, Puerto Barrios, Puerto Cortez, with return via Puerto Barrios and Belize, eleven days in all.

The service to Cuba is of the highest class and frequent. The Ward Line operates splendid twin-screw express steamers direct from New York to Havana every Thursday and Saturday. There is also a service by twin-screw express steamships from New York every Thursday, with stops at Havana, Progreso (Yucatan), Vera Cruz (Mexico), and Tampico (Mexico), calling at Nassau (Bahamas) on the return voyage.

The Munson Steamship Line operates steamers from New York to the Eastern Cuba ports of Nuevitas and Antilla. The Compañía Transatlántica has a steamer from Barcelona about the 11th or 12th of each month which continues from New York to Havana, Vera Cruz, and Puerto Mexico. The Southern Pacific Line has a steamer from New Orleans to Havana every Saturday. The Peninsular and Occidental Steamship Company has boats Sundays and Thursdays from Port Tampa to Key West and Havana and on five days weekly from Key West to Havana. With all of these services available, in addition to the United Fruit Company sailings outlined above, the traveler bound for Cuba has a wide range of choice.

Our island possession of Porto Rico is reached by the Red D Line mentioned above and also by direct service from New York, New Orleans, and Galveston on the New York and Porto Rico Steamship Company. There are sailings every Saturday from New York and frequent departures from New Orleans and Galveston.

The large fleet of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company has been withdrawn during the war with the single exception of the service from Halifax to Bermuda, Barbados, Trinidad, Demerara, and other Windward Island ports.

The delightful little island of Nassau in the Bahamas has of late years taken its place as one of the foremost winter resorts of the world. The delicious atmosphere and equable climate make it a Mecca for pilgrims from all ports. In addition to the Ward Line call, there is a weekly service on the Ward Line from New York to Nassau and return from December to April and fortnightly boats in the other



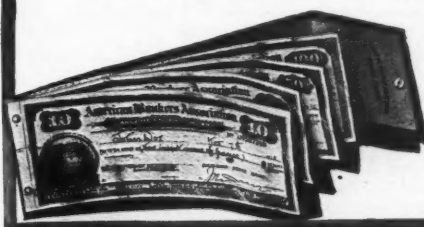
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every ten days by the *Evangeline*, both operated by the Quebec Steamship Company. This company has frequent service from New York to St. Thomas, Martinique, Barbados, Demerara, and other ports in the Windward Islands.

Besides the Southern Pacific service to the Gulf of Mexico, the Mallory Line has steamers to Key West and Galveston every Wednesday and to Key West, Tampa, and Mobile every Saturday. This gives opportunity for travelers to southern Florida

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The Savannah Line has a service from New York to Savannah every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and from Boston to Savannah every Tuesday and Saturday.

The Merchants and Miners Transportation Company has biweekly services from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Savannah and Jacksonville. This company also operates connecting steamers from Boston and Providence to Philadelphia and Baltimore.

WINTER IN DIXIE

The winter traveler who turns his face southward has a wider range of choice than in any other region. Our Southern States long ago began to appreciate the desire of Northern tourists to escape the rigors of winter and have devoted themselves to attracting tourists by all legitimate means.

As we turn southward we first find Lakewood, scarcely an hour's run from New York, in the midst of the New Jersey pines. Here are polo and plenty of opportunity for horseback-riding and autoing on the best of roads. Atlantic City, a little farther along, has no season. Of late years midwinter there has become almost as popular and fully as comfortable as midsummer.

Farther down the coast, reached by rail or steamer, is Old Point Comfort, which long has reigned as queen of our semi-Southern resorts. The Cape Charles Route trains go direct from New York down to the end of the Maryland peninsula and from there by ferry across lower Chesapeake Bay to Old Point. Or one can take that delightful one-day ocean trip by the Old Dominion Line from New York to Old Point and Norfolk. Over on the other side of Virginia are the famous Virginia Hot Springs, and just across the border the White Sulphur Springs of West Virginia, both places reached by direct trains from New York on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. The healing qualities of the waters of both resorts have long been known, and many there be who have made their annual pilgrimage thither.

In the western mountains of Virginia's neighboring State, North Carolina, is that oft-sung region, the "Land of the Sky." Asheville stands at the gateway, bidding a cordial welcome to one of the nation's chief playgrounds. "The New Asheville Train," as it is called, speeds one hither from New York via the Pennsylvania and the Southern railways in less than 23 hours. Some of the finest hotels in the Southland are here and sport facilities are provided a-plenty. But it is the opportunity for getting out under the famed blue sky that gives Asheville and the surrounding section its charm.

A few miles below Asheville is Tryon, the southern gateway to the "Sapphire Country," by which name also this delightful country is known. Tryon too has excellent hotels and a salubrious climate. Over in the center of the State are Lakehurst and Southern Pines, two resorts

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which have come into well-merited prominence during the past few years. Aiken, S. C., has a wide reputation as an aristocratic center and is a favorite rendezvous of Northern society people. Direct sleeper is run from New York to Aiken during the fall, winter, and spring months on the "Augusta Special" of the Pennsylvania and Southern railways. Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., reached by Clyde and Savannah Steamship lines respectively, and also by direct rail from the north, are favorite winter abodes of many from the Northern States.

IN SUNNY FLORIDA

An attempt to enumerate all, or to do justice to a few, of the scores of excellent resorts in Florida is impossible within the limited scope of the present article. Let us here consider a very few of the better-known places. The train service to Florida is all that one could desire. The Seaboard Air Line has the "Florida-Cuba Special," with through cars to both east and west coast; "Seaboard Fast Mail," and the "Flamingo," with through sleeper from New York to Key West, where the boat connection is made to Havana, described above. The Atlantic Coast Line operates the "New York and Florida Special," the "Palmetto Limited," to both east and west coasts; the "Coast Line Florida Mail," and the "Florida & West Indian Limited," with through cars from New York to Key West. The service from the Middle West is likewise ample. The "Dixie Limited" (in service, January 10) and "Seminole Limited" from Chicago and St. Louis connect with the Atlantic Coast Line, also the "South Atlantic Limited" from Cincinnati. The "Florida Special" from St. Louis and Cincinnati and the "Royal Palm" from Chicago and Cincinnati connect with the Southern Railway. A new train to Jacksonville, Florida, from Chicago, with through sleeping-car service from Chicago, Grand Rapids, Fort Wayne, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis named "The Southland" has been just put into service by the Pennsylvania System in conjunction with Louisville & Nashville, Central of Georgia, Georgia Southern, and Florida and Atlantic Coast Line.

Florida's playgrounds are divided geographically between those of the east coast, the inland lake and river region, and the west coast resorts. Jacksonville may be termed Florida's clearing-house. The Clyde Line steamers have their terminal here, and through trains from the North either end their journey here or transfer their through cars to other trains. One visiting Florida for the first time can not pass St. Augustine without a stop for a day or two. With Santa Fé it ranks as one of the oldest two cities in the United States. Its curious old houses, narrow streets, and antiquated fort are never-failing sources of interest. Two enormous hotels and hosts of smaller ones provide ample accommodations for the hordes of visitors that annually throng the city. On down the east coast are Ormond, Seabreeze, and Daytona, renowned for automobile-speed records accomplished on its smooth beaches. Magnificent hotels and golf links are found here also.

At Palm Beach, famous for its stupendous hotels and winter home of the Four Hundred, gather those who delight in society as spelled with a big S. Beauty,

fashion, and social activities reign supreme. Fortunate is he or she who can spend a few days or a few weeks in this resort of resorts, far from the snow and ice that grip Northern cities, yet surrounded by the same congenial "life" as in New York or Chicago. Farther on down the East Coast is Miami, the newest of Florida's large resorts, and hence known as the "Magic City." Another immense hotel is here, as are likewise society's ardent devotees. A few miles south of Miami the Florida East Coast Railway begins the long overseas concrete-viaduct journey from island to island to reach Key West, the stepping-stone to Havana. On the way across the keys and intervening waters you may stop at Long Key, one of the most famous fishing-grounds in the world. At Key West, a sail of about nine hours by Peninsular and Occidental steamer, brings the tourist to the Cuban Capital.

For those who wish to penetrate the interior of Florida and see some of the beauties of nature hidden in her lake and river region, there are no more enjoyable trips than the St. Johns and Ocklawaha River trips. Steamer by the Clyde Line for the former trip leaves Jacksonville daily and proceeds up the St. Johns River past Palatka and through Lake George to Sanford, a journey of some nineteen hours, so timed as to give daylight to the most interesting portions. The Ocklawaha River excursion starts from Palatka. There are two services. Boats of the Silver Springs Transportation and Hart Line have daily service from Palatka (7 A.M.) up the St. Johns River to the mouth of the Ocklawaha River, thence up the winding, twisting Ocklawaha to Silver Springs (5 P.M.). The scenery along this unique river is unparalleled. For those who wish to make the trip more leisurely the Hart Line has triweekly service of about 24 hours from Palatka to Silver Springs.

Tampa is to the west coast what Jacksonville is to the east. Here terminate the through-trait service of the Atlantic Coast Line and Seaboard Air Line with direct connection with steamships to Key West and Havana via Peninsular and Occidental Steamship Line. From Tampa radiate attractive trips not only by rail but by Manatee River boats, etc. A long chain of famous resorts extends down the west coast, including Tarpon Springs, St. Petersburg, the Sunshine City, famous for its varied pleasures and delightful climate; Sarasota, Boca Grande, and Fort Meyers, the Southern Gulf Coast terminus of the Atlantic Coast Line. Each of these resorts is well supplied with hotels. Fishing, boating, and golf are all afforded in high perfection.

There are scores of other resorts throughout the Southern States, but there is space here to mention only Pass Christian and Biloxi, in Mississippi, and Hot Springs, Arkansas. The last named has long been famous as one of the foremost health- and recreation-centers in the country. Through sleeper from Chicago to Hot Springs is operated via the Illinois Central and Rock Island lines.

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